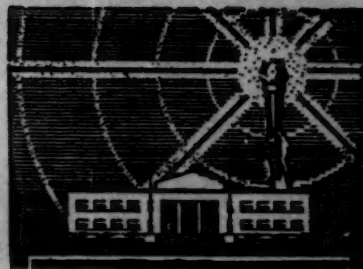


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Contents

As the Editor Sees It	202
The Politics of Satisfaction in the United States	D. R. McCoy 203
Gifford Pinchot	M. L. Fausold 210
Indigenous Religions in the United States	K. V. Lottick 216
The Unfeasibility of European Federation Now	Daniel Wit 221
Proper Perspective in American History	J. A. Myers 231
The Significance of International Festivals	Eric Mann 233
The Teachers' Page	Hyman M. Boodish 234
Visual and Other Aids	Irwin A. Eckhauser 238
Book Reviews and Book Notes	D. W. Harr 239
Current Publications Received	240

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As the Editor Sees It

The press has given an unusual amount of attention to a recent book charging that Johnny can't read, and that faulty educational methods are the cause of it. However this particular case may be, it is but one of a spate of books and articles that have made headlines by criticism of the schools. As is usually the case, denunciation brings more publicity than commendation. After all, how many lay readers would buy a book that described how well Johnny *can* read? About as many as would pass up *Blackboard Jungle* to read a novel about a perfectly normal school.

Certainly the schools need to be kept on their toes; any institution tends to develop hardening of the arteries unless it is subject to public scrutiny and criticism. But the schools have been under such constant and varied pressure for nearly two generations that they are more likely to suffer from ulcers than stagnation. Not only has the public produced millions more children to attend the schools, but it wants them all to graduate from high school. Not only does it want them all taught the 3 R's as well as the select few were once taught, but it also wants them trained in citizenship, family relations, bookkeeping, paperhanging and basketball. In addition the school must examine their eyes, ears, lungs and teeth, and teach them to drive a car. Any school system whose arteries have a chance to harden these days is in a fortunate position. The fact is that much of the criticism comes from people like the blind men and the elephant; they see one facet they dislike but have no conception of the whole picture.

The tremendous expansion in the scope of public educational activities has been a gradual

but steady growth over forty years. The public attitude toward education has been one of ever-increasing demands, and only now is the true cost of the American type of education beginning to be felt. Other nations have greater birth-rates than ours, but their educational systems are rudimentary. Other nations have schools where the degree of learning is equal to or better than ours, but they are for the intellectual elite. Americans are just beginning to find that the all-inclusive educational program for *all* American youth is going to become a very expensive thing, and it is easier to blame the schools for the ways they are trying to meet the demand than to criticize the public for its wishes.

One of the very best analyses of this situation we have seen is that by Sloan Wilson in the September *Harper's*. It should be reprinted and widely publicized. Mr. Wilson puts the matter very succinctly: "Most of the controversy over public education stems from a strong desire to get something for nothing." Many things have been added to the school curriculum by public demand, but "no one wanted anything cut out." And with the pupil population increased tenfold, the cost of this tremendous educational program has become a matter of concern. As Mr. Wilson says, some people claim that the schools are no good and hence should not be given all this added support. But as he points out, *if* they are poor, they need even more support, *if* the expectations of the American public are to be realized. We have embarked on an experiment in idealism, and we must realize that it will cost more than ever was spent on education anywhere, and it will never be finished.

The Politics of Satisfaction in the United States

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I

Discontent seems to be an omnipresent feature of human life. Few in number are the persons who appear to be completely satisfied with their lot. Therefore, one may be pardoned for viewing history as revealing mankind's chief endeavor to be that of searching for satisfaction (which term might be represented as including individually varying amounts of bodily protection, economic welfare and exercise of free will).¹ Public government, seen from either the Lockean or Machiavellian viewpoints, operates in such a fashion as to afford men opportunities to gain those elements of satisfaction which they have difficulty in procuring through purely individualistic methods. Both these theses contend that public officials ideally should be able to recognize and to deal with discontent. It is obvious, however, that the public government has yet to be established that can directly or accurately determine the objects and intensity of the dissatisfaction felt by its individual subjects. Similarly, the public government that can directly and successfully cope with all individual discontent has still to be witnessed. The inability of statecraft to perform completely such functions results in the existence in any national society of innumerable forms of striving for and administering satisfaction other than those offered by public government. As Charles E. Merriam has noted:

Government . . . is a special form of association, but there is much private government alongside of public government. The line between them is not so sharp as is generally supposed. There are many rule-making agencies in social affairs; there are many types of subordination, superordination, and co-ordination; there are many types of leadership, of consent and assent of the governed.

There are many forms of adjudication, of common counsel, of management; many problems of liberty and authority, of morale and discipline, of adaptation, adjustment, and co-operation, outside of government. The family, the church, the union, the corporation, the profession, the cultural society—these all have their special forms of governance, not by any means entirely unlike the governmental.²

Scholars have produced much by way of describing the operational structures and techniques of the various agencies of governance and politics flourishing in the United States. We have at our disposal stimulating and learned accounts of the politico-governmental aspects of propaganda, voting, violence, "influence," parties, pressure groups, business concerns, trade unions, religious organizations, as well as of our multifarious public governments. Generally lacking, however, have been attempts to view in an integrated manner the activities of all institutions of satisfaction in terms of their governmental and political relationships with one another. Because an agency's policies, practices and structure are largely contingent upon circumstances created by other agencies, complete understanding of the whole social system or of any given part of it waits upon the development of a conceptual framework through which inter-institutional relationships may be seen. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to suggest that there exists in the United States something resembling a pattern in which the various agencies of satisfaction are arranged like rungs on a ladder from first to last institutions of resort.³ Herein, the political and governmental position of these institutions in relation to one another and to persons seeking satisfaction will be sketched in a general fashion.

II

Before we proceed, it should be stated that in American society this systematic process of satisfaction appears to be divided into two parts. The primary group of institutions includes those which are most often used and which are usually able to cope with the problems that foment discontent. These primary institutions are socially tolerated in almost a complete sense. The secondary group of agencies may be resorted to when individual or group satisfaction has not been obtained through the primary processes. Generally speaking, the secondary institutions encounter social attitudes that range anywhere from mild disapproval to utter condemnation. The intensity of society's disapproval is determined by the extent to which the secondary institutions seem to threaten to disrupt society and to destroy the predominant vested interests of the primary agencies.

In developing the hierarchy of agencies of satisfaction, it is clear that the point of departure is the action taken by the individual to deal with his dissatisfaction. These personal efforts to gain satisfaction range from the most trivial to the most vital; such as, the commonplace act of toning down a blaring radio, the commission of armed robbery, a temper tantrum, or feeding oneself. There are instances where other forms of satisfaction could not possibly offer relief, as, for example, in warding off the direct assault of an animal or of a human being. In still others, the adjunct services of other agencies are eschewed, as in the case of a person who attempts to cure his diseases and injuries, or in that of self-destruction. In this same category, the use of "self-control," based on the guide-lines of "conscience" or "reason," frequently leads to a conquest of one's problems. In additional instances, the individual may supplement the services of social organizations, *e.g.*, the parent who directly adds to his child's fund of knowledge and attitudes. Even though the dissatisfied person may not avail himself of self-help, or if such efforts fail, the resolve of the individual is usually required in looking to agencies of a group nature for relief.⁴

The second level, which we might refer to as communal agencies, includes those which informally serve the immediate environment of the individual. For example, in this grouping

we find the family, friendship and acquaintance-ship relations, and the local community itself. These afford "counseling" and financial services which tend to solve the problem at hand or to make it seem less significant than it was originally felt to be. The family might deal with the problems of one of its members by utilization of any of a number of techniques: family "shame" might be impressed upon the son who experiments with "extraordinary" methods of "having fun"; the family might apply "common sense" guidance in trying to give a member perspective into his problems; or financial support might be given to the relative who is besieged by economic troubles. Frequently, a friend or an acquaintance may afford satisfactory advice or material aid. Then the community itself may informally extend aid to one of "its own" as an act of civic pride or of "doing good"; or on the other hand the gossip of the community, with its great power to destroy reputation, has controlled more than one potentially unorthodox individual or group.⁵ In contemporary American society these communal institutions, along with personal action, serve to satisfy or to control the bulk of individual or group discontent. Yet there are a great number of problems that cannot be handled directly on these two lower rungs of the ladder of satisfaction. These problems are then either referred to or break through to the more highly organized agencies of satisfaction within the nation.

If the discontented find that they are unable to gain satisfactory answers to their problems through the first two agencies, they might well consider formal group action of an organizational nature. This might be labelled as interest group action and refers to any specific organization as it provides services designed to aid directly in solving the problems of its members.⁶ Analyzing various types of interest groups we find that they offer the dissatisfied many "intramural" opportunities to ameliorate their conditions. Trade unions, for example, frequently offer job counseling and educational opportunities, afford emergency monetary relief and, by use of purely negotiatory measures, are able to secure the aid of other private governments in obtaining satisfaction for union members. Financial aid and various cooperative economic and social enterprises characterize some of the

chief endeavors of agricultural interest groups to satisfy the needs and wants of their members. Business organizations have accomplished a great deal by way of educating their constituents in more efficient industrial and commercial techniques. Other interest groups, such as religious, fraternal, nationality and veterans' organizations, have been known to perform yeoman service in giving counseling, economic and escapist aid of one sort or another.

Because the discontented usually try to gain satisfaction from the institutions closest at hand, public government might be ranked fourth in order in the quest for satisfaction. Our numerous public governments offer certain continuing and readily available services of which the dissatisfied can partake. Among the many services that they offer are financial ones like loans and subsidies to farmers, unemployment and old age insurance, emergency relief beyond these, and a certain number of jobs in the vastness of bureaucracy. Other services established by public governments to satisfy the citizenry include formal adjudication of disputes in law, police and fire protection, public health aid, and expert counsel in a myriad of fields. These standing governmental services, of course, not only extend beyond the functions of satisfaction of the first three levels of agencies, but in many instances, as with public school systems, complement them. Although such governmental services are instrumental in solving many problems, they do not afford anything like complete satisfaction within society.

Public government also functions in another capacity through its power to establish other continuing or temporary services desired by dissidents within society. In this respect it serves as an important, if not the main target of the institutions of satisfaction which we will hereafter consider. The first of these institutional areas may be designated as pressure groups. By definition a pressure group is an organization that seeks to gain its ends by using its economic, numerical and intellectual strength to force public and private governments to make "desirable" adjustments in their forms and policies. Pressure groups have successfully used their power in any number of ways. Labor, business and agricultural organizations have on occasion threatened to utilize their power to disrupt the nation's highly inter-

dependent economic system. By adopting the dictum of "reward your friends, punish your enemies," many pressure groups have been able to force politicians to represent their interests. Pressure groups have developed even more strength by way of educating the voting public, through large scale advertising, to the "validity" of their claims. The American Medical Association and the Marine Corps have achieved notable success in this regard. Lobbying or even "infiltration" techniques as regards other agencies of satisfaction have frequently resulted in satisfaction for the members of any given pressure group.⁷

If pressure group methods are ineffectual, then attempts may be made by groups or individuals to gain satisfaction from public government by activity within one or both of the major political parties. Whereas the pressure group endeavors in part to influence or to force public government to its persuasion through the techniques above mentioned, the political party definitely sets out to become the public government. Similarly, those who join in major party activities have the goal of trying to control public government as regards their special interests. On the whole, political party participation appears to rank higher than the pressure group on the ladder of the agencies of satisfaction because of increased difficulties in representing dissident claims. These include the risk of losing support for the dissident cause through definite affiliation with one party,⁸ the arduous and perilous tasks of running for party and public government office, and the possibility of having to assume responsibility for governmental functions in general along with ameliorating the motivating dissatisfaction. These last two difficulties might in turn lead to the "corruption" of any given crusade for satisfaction because of the frequent necessity of making compromises with other dissidents and with the "professional" politicians within the party. Regardless of the higher responsibilities and hazards of this level of satisfaction, much has been obtained by dissidents engaged in political party warfare. White supremacy advocates were at one time in almost complete control of the racial policies of the Democratic party, and, for that matter, still exercise considerable influence in both major parties and in various public governments. Labor unions by organized intra-

party action have been able to speak with an influential voice in the councils of the Democratic party. Likewise, businessmen have been successfully active in obtaining party and governmental recognition for the "legitimate" needs of industrial and commercial *entrepreneurs*.

These six groupings constitute the primary agencies for obtaining satisfaction. The pattern in which they are arranged is not, of course, iron-clad in nature. On occasion, one might skip a rung or two on the ladder, depending on the problem, the opportunities at hand, and the amount of knowledge one has about services offered by various agencies. Furthermore, it might be more efficacious in certain instances to reverse parts of the pattern. It might also be noted that often dissidents will be engaged in activities on several different levels simultaneously, but it must be stressed that in these instances the additional approaches to satisfaction will probably be employed in the order suggested. On the whole, however, it seems plausible to assert that these six agencies of satisfaction operate in the pattern outlined herein. For a general example of how the pattern might apply to an American social movement, the struggle of the Negro citizenry to gain economic, political and social equality after the Civil War will be cited. Here we find the fight being initiated by adherence to Booker T. Washington's credo of individual betterment and then shifting increasingly to the growth of communal institutions of satisfaction. The battle was then expanded into the area of Negro interest group action as represented by the development of organizations like the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. Moreover, the Negro was increasingly taking advantage of those services, few as they were, offered by public governments. Early in the 20th Century the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were organized, with a notable emphasis on pressure techniques, to gain satisfaction for Negroes. These organizations were later supplemented with Negro participation in other pressure groups like trade unions and business councils. Then, as became apparent in the 1920's and 1930's, Negroes increasingly participated in party politics.⁹

A similar pattern can be discerned in the development of public school systems, with per-

sonal, communal and interest group (private schools) agencies of satisfaction being predominant in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Political action and interaction between public governments and pressure groups led to the universal development of publicly sponsored educational facilities from kindergarten to graduate school. Now the battle is raging on the pressure group level with the major political parties becoming increasingly involved in questions of additional state and federal aid to education.

III

That the primary agencies of satisfaction have been highly successful in the United States is indicated by the relatively few cases of discontent with which they have not dealt effectively. Nevertheless, there have been times when the dissatisfied felt that they had not or could not obtain relief except by resorting to the secondary area of institutions of satisfaction. The willingness of some dissidents to use secondary institutions indicates, of course, that the basic machinery for satisfaction had failed them (or that they have assumed it would without giving all available primary agencies the chance to tackle the problem). Therefore, those who have remained dissatisfied have used the secondary institutions with one or both of the following purposes in mind: 1) to force the primary agencies to solve the problem, by threatening to injure or to destroy them; 2) to replace with new forms those primary agencies that seem to be barriers to satisfaction.

The secondary institution most likely to be used by dissidents is one that has been witnessed frequently in recent years—the third party movement. This is not to be confused with the third party. It may be distinguished from that form through its attempts to gain satisfaction by threatening to form a new party or to give support to an existing third party, and therefore to cloud the political picture. This type of threat, of course, is aimed mainly at the major parties. Furthermore, the third party movement, like its fellow secondary agencies, is interested in utilizing the notoriety which it is likely to receive to educate the primary agencies concerning the basis of discontent and possible solutions thereto. The League for Independent Political Action, founded by John Dewey in 1929, and its suc-

cessor organizations, the Farmer-Labor Political Federation and the American Commonwealth Political Federation, played this role until 1936. These movements were not unsuccessful in publicizing their aims and purposes, and in building up scares that made the New Deal government give more careful attention to the development of its public policy. Philip F. LaFollette's National Progressives of America performed yeoman service in forcing reinvigoration of New Deal liberalism in 1938. The threat of new party action was implicit in the activities of Labor's Non-Partisan League in its attempts to gain entree into New Deal policy-making circles. More recently, A. Philip Randolph's 1947 Committee on Education for a New Party should not be overlooked as a factor in forcing a crystallization of President Truman's position on labor and racial issues. Although third party movement action was utilized prior to World War I, it has apparently been more popular in the last thirty-five years. This probably results from the disillusionment of many political rebels with third party action *per se* after the failure of the Progressives of 1912 and 1924 to replace permanently one of the major parties. The popularity of the third party movement also seems to have been motivated by the desire of dissident politicians to avoid the severe retribution meted out, after a third party's course was run, to men who had competed with major party candidates for votes. In substantiation of this viewpoint, one might cite the cases of Paul Douglas, Lewis Schwellenbach and Elbert Thomas, whose political careers apparently did not suffer as a result of their flirtations with third party movements in the 1930's. It has also been contended that the third party movement is not only a more diplomatic but also a more effective threat to the major parties, because its true electoral strength is not known and tends to be overestimated. Moreover, proponents of this type of political activity hold that it is, in any event, a necessary step preparatory to the formation of a third party should that action become imperative.¹⁰

A new party is established or an existing third party is joined if dissidents feel that society has continued to ignore the bases of discontent and if the dissatisfaction is still considered important enough to risk more drastic

action. Thus, the next institutional step in the secondary area is taken. A good example of this may be seen in the development of the 1924 Progressive movement. Here various reform and radical elements had been welling up through the institutions of satisfaction early in the century¹¹ and had achieved a good deal of success. After 1920 it became obvious that the most influential pressure groups and the major parties, and therefore the public government, were dominated by conservatives. As a result the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which could be likened to a third party movement, was organized in 1922 by progressive groups in an attempt to force the major parties to act on what were thought to be the major social problems of the day. Failing in this maneuver, the Conference fostered the independent presidential candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. in 1924.¹² Another interesting example was seen in 1936. Then, after the American Commonwealth Political Federation's "farmer-labor" convention failed to launch a new party, many of its supporters, still disgruntled, joined the subsequently formed Union party. Although some of these dissidents later decided to support Franklin D. Roosevelt's bid for reelection, many of them remained active throughout the campaign in behalf of William Lemke's presidential candidacy. It should be stressed that the goal of third party action is not so much to replace one or both of the major parties, as to alleviate the conditions to which the membership's dissatisfaction is attributable. Third party successes in this regard have usually resulted because of three factors which tend to spur the major political parties, or public government as their instrument, to meet some of the demands of the dissatisfied third partyites: 1) fear that third party campaign activity would attract votes that might otherwise provide the margin of victory in crucial election areas; 2) fear that enough third party candidates would achieve election and therefore occupy a balance of power position in coming legislative struggles; and 3) fear of the possibility—however remote—that the third party might replace one of the two major parties or might gain predominant control of public government.¹³

Assuming the third party method does not work, those who are willing to take more

drastic action may advance to the next rung on the ladder of satisfaction, which might be referred to as withdrawal or secession. Withdrawal as a personal method of problem solving is not uncommon and is manifested in many ways, including amnesia, hoboism, emigration, and monasticism. On this level of satisfaction, however, we are concerned with withdrawal as it is used by large groups. Resort to this institution by large groups has not been common in the American experience because of three factors which militate against it: 1) the efficacy with which other private and public agencies have been able to dispose of individual or group problems; 2) the risk of violence involved in group secession; and 3) the risk of losing more satisfaction than the discontented would stand to gain by such action. Yet withdrawal has taken place often enough in the United States to be able to arrive at some plausible conclusions about it as an agency of satisfaction. The secessionist operates with one or both of two goals in mind. First, if not successfully contested by the society from which the discontented are seceding, the state of withdrawal itself would perhaps be seen as a solution to the motivating problems. Here one might refer to the *de facto* and permanent withdrawal of Vermont from New York State in 1777. The second goal is to use secession in an attempt to force the original power to afford the secessionists satisfaction in order to retain their allegiance or to avoid bloodshed. Illustrative of this was a "tempest in a teapot" that occurred just prior to our entrance into World War II—the emergence of the "State of Jefferson." Throughout the 1920's and 1930's dissatisfaction was expressed (in something like the pattern suggested in this paper) in several counties in northern California and southern Oregon, concerning problems of transportation and exploitation of natural resources. Personal, communal and interest group action was attempted without satisfactory results. The public governments involved were repeatedly petitioned, representations and protestations were made to the major parties, and many in the area rallied around third party banners, but all to little avail. Late in 1941, the residents of the area decided to jolt public government out of its lethargy regarding their claims and demands. Therefore, the State of Jefferson was con-

structed out of one Oregon and four California counties; a "governor" was elected and payment of California and Oregon taxes was outlawed. Unfortunately for our purposes, the emergency attendant upon the nation's entry into World War II and the exploitation of copper in the area to aid the country's war effort "artificially" produced satisfaction in this instance. It should be noted, however, that this case of secession stimulated increased interest on the west coast in the area's problems.

A state of secession, however, is not necessarily accomplished by proclamation alone. The attempt to withdraw can frequently lead to the ultimate step in the process of satisfaction—violence. Whether withdrawal is meant to be either temporary or permanent in nature, it might elicit war instead of satisfaction. The attempts at temporary withdrawal and non-cooperation by certain British colonies in North America in the 1770's led to the use of physical force by Great Britain to gain submission from those colonies. Only successful retaliation in kind by the colonies led to a solution of the problem, namely, independence. Similarly, in the endeavor at permanent withdrawal by the Confederate States of America in 1860-1861, the secessionists utilized violence in their attempt to counter the militant reaction of the United States government. More recently, the assaults upon the residence of the President in 1950 and the House of Representatives in 1954 by Puerto Rican Nationalists represented endeavors to force the United States to give Puerto Rico independence. Violence may, of course, be used for purposes other than the support of secession. One of these goals is to use or threaten to use¹⁴ the institution to intimidate other agencies to provide satisfaction. The violence attendant upon the widespread Midwestern farm strikes in 1932 and 1933 was largely entered upon to force public government and the major parties to revise their agricultural policies. Another purpose of physical force is to destroy or to replace one or more other agencies of satisfaction. The American Revolution, which aimed not only at separation but also at the purging of many indigenous institutions, might again be cited as an example. Several insurrections, like those of Nathaniel Bacon and Nat Turner, have also adopted this goal of violence.

IV

It is not to be assumed that this theory is complete or that the levels of satisfaction sketched herein are rigid in operation. Much overlapping exists in that any given organization, as has been observed, might be simultaneously operative on several different rungs of the ladder. Also, specific organizations and causes within a level may come or go. Yet, the institutional levels have remained fairly constant in their relation to one another in terms of what techniques are used and how they are used by the organizations functioning on any specific level. Moreover, the intensity of dissatisfaction and potential range of social effect seem to endow each rung of the ladder with a character distinct from that of other agencies. In view of this, it is suggested that social scientists should be interested not just in segmented but also in overall approaches to the problems of politics and governance, from the workings of the individual to social use of violence in gaining satisfaction. For example, consideration of church, family or political party in themselves is commendable, but one is left adrift when such a study ignores partially or wholly the other agencies of satisfaction, which to a large degree affect any institution's structure or functioning. It should also be noted that there is a tendency to overemphasize either the political or governmental functions of any specific organization on a rung of the ladder. This one-sided type of study is carried on to such an extent that many social scientists are not cognizant that institutions and organizations accomplish both governmental and political tasks. A pressure group, for instance, affords governance in "counseling" or "educating" the discontented into satisfaction. Or public government is obviously political in that its personnel are interested in perpetuating or expanding the satisfaction which they find for themselves on that level.

There has been a tendency on the part of social scientists to view the use of destructive force and withdrawal, and even third party movements and third parties, as manifestations of social immaturity. It is as absurd professionally, however, to condemn these institutions as it is to label suicide "wicked," family pressures "stultifying" or major party politics "dirty." All agencies of satisfaction may perform neces-

sary or desirable social functions. As has been implied, the ladder of satisfaction may serve as an index of social stability, in that the degree to which these more drastic, secondary institutions are utilized reflects the extent to which satisfaction and control are maintained by primary agencies.¹⁵ For example, third party movements and third parties both strike at the imperfections of the American system of representation, either in terms of "democratic" control of public government or of the fallacy of the shibboleth that "the consent of the majority must be rational." In actuality, these agencies afford society an opportunity by way of peaceful electoral channels to "keep within the Union" those who otherwise might use withdrawal or violence to gain satisfaction. As for secession or physical force, they are no more reprehensible than the failure of society which is indicated by their utilization. Generally speaking, one does not use extreme methods by way of choice; one is prompted to do so because of the failure of society to meet serious dissatisfaction on the lower rungs of the ladder.

In any event, it is generally to be agreed that the chief problem confronting intelligent men is that of devising just, pacific and constructive methods of affording to all bodily protection, economic welfare and a maximum of the exercise of free will. But it must be recognized that the various methods of achieving these are closely interrelated. Studies segmented by disciplines or by specializations within a discipline must be based upon awareness of these connections if we are to proceed toward a more complete understanding of the dynamics of social change and social control.

¹ Implicit in one's quest for satisfaction is the necessity of providing for an amount of control or repression at least for others if not for oneself. It is obvious, of course, that no society could give complete satisfaction to all men, inasmuch as laws which bring content to one person may bring discontent to another. Therefore, societies operate on the premise that only a certain amount of compromise or repression on points of conflict can possibly result in the utmost satisfaction for all.

² Charles E. Merriam, *Systematic Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. v.

³ Although consideration of this conceptual framework is explicitly limited to the United States, it should be recognized that "ladders of satisfaction" exist in other nations. Moreover, international and supranational agencies can be seen as serving as extensions of the various national scales of satisfaction.

⁴ Of course, it is recognized that the amount of purely personal attempts to solve one's problems or the role individual resolve plays in referring one's problems to

social institutions is determined in large part by the cultural milieu. If what David Riesman suggests about the increasing number of "other directed" people in American society is true, then the individual will become more passive and "socialized" in the area of problem solving. See Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945); S. F. Nadel, "Social Control and Self-Regulation," *Social Forces*, XXXI, No. 3 (March, 1953); and David Riesman *et al*, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

⁵ See T. V. Smith, "Custom, Gossip, and Legislation," *Social Forces*, XVI, No. 1 (October, 1937), for a discussion of the relationship between community cultural forces and attempts to gain satisfaction.

⁶ It should be noted that an organization used for interest group activity might also be utilized on other levels because of the multifunctional aspects of any organization. An organization might serve on the second rung of the ladder to foster friend or acquaintance relationships, or community pride. It might also be used, as we shall see later, as a pressure group.

⁷ The question might justly be raised here as to how these "higher" institutional levels administer satisfaction. It might be answered that they tend to educate their constituents into satisfaction by showing how much they have achieved or will achieve by their activities. Also participation in these "higher" processes tends to satisfy many dissidents.

⁸ The interests of satisfaction, of course, are active in both major parties, but due to prejudice, poor publicity or the fact that the dissidents of any given interest are more likely to be found in one party than the other, they are popularly characterized as being affiliated with only one. For example, these myths may be cited:

"All merchants and industrialists are Republicans"; "All Jews are Democrats."

⁹ One item of interest that might be noted here tends to lend validity to the theory herein outlined. That is that the earlier processes of satisfaction are often necessary to give the group or parts of it the power or the will to enter into the battle on the higher rungs of the ladder.

¹⁰ It might be noted here that the third party movement is in large measure a pressure group or a federation of pressure groups that have decided to function in the secondary area of satisfaction instead of or in addition to being active in the primary forms.

¹¹ Of course, earlier manifestations of the attempt to gain economic and political justice for "the workingmen of all walks of life" through third party action could be cited, like the Populists or the Greenbackers. Here, however, the story was essentially the same.

¹² Although the 1924 Progressive endeavor was not formally proclaimed a "party," it operated in such a fashion as to be legitimately classified as a third party.

¹³ Third party activity, of course, endangers not only or the reasonableness of dissident demands. threatens the whole relationship structure of primary institutions when one considers the strong operational and influence connections existing between at least interest organizations, pressure groups, the bureaucracy of public government, and the major parties.

¹⁴ See Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1954) for a discussion of violence and its social uses. Camus supports this institution only in terms of its function as a threat or myth which might produce satisfaction.

¹⁵ Such an index, however, does not take into account the constructiveness of such satisfaction and control, or the reasonability of dissident demands.

Gifford Pinchot

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Historical treatment of Gifford Pinchot has tended to concentrate on his work in conservation of natural resources rather than his political activities. An examination of the Pinchot Papers from 1910 to 1912 reveals that he became an active partisan political personality in this period. Indeed, his contributions as an architect of the Progressive Party of 1912 equal those he made to the Progressive Movement initiated in 1901. The following statement presents an analysis of the context within which the transition was made, emphasizing as causes Pinchot's determination to enhance conservation of natural resources, and the liberalism it represented, through personal political participation; and his intense loyalty to Theodore Roosevelt and his policies.

Pinchot's role as Chief Forester of the United States during the first years of the Progressive Movement, 1901-1917, is fairly well appreciated. Indeed, if we agree with Henry Steele Commager that the beginning of scientific planning "may be traced to the various conservation boards and conferences of the Theodore Roosevelt Administration,"¹ then we will credit Pinchot with being an innovator in both the Progressive Movement and the twentieth century liberal tradition. During the Roosevelt years, the President himself somewhat substantiated this view of Pinchot's stature, remarking that "... among the many public officials who under my administration rendered literally invaluable service to the people of the United States, he, on the whole, stood first."²

Concerning the conservation of natural resources, Gifford Pinchot is perhaps best remembered for the Pinchot-Ballinger affair in 1910.³ When Pinchot was dismissed from the federal service for insubordination, a large portion of the electorate suspected that he had "gone down" in a fight to retain Roosevelt's conservation policies in the Taft Administration. To Pinchot, and much of the public, conservation best epitomized the progressivism of the Roosevelt era. What is not generally appreciated today about Pinchot is that he possessed the agility to shift the emphasis of his contribution to the movement from the area of scientific conservation of natural resources to the area of intricate party politics.

Certainly, it is not difficult to understand that many dissatisfied, or insurgent, Republicans viewed Pinchot's dismissal as synonymous with Taft's dismissal of progressivism. Likewise, many insurgent political leaders looked to the former Chief Forester for leadership in the intra-Party struggle to retain progressivism. Such leadership was greatly enhanced by Roosevelt's expression of sympathy upon Pinchot's removal. Also, the ex-President's stated desire to have Pinchot report abroad personally to him on conditions at home revealed Pinchot as an outstanding spokesman during this period.⁴ After informing Roosevelt of the extremely conservative behavior of the Taft Administration, Pinchot returned to the United States to give enthusiastic direction to the insurgency manifested by a growing element of the Party.

It must be remembered that Pinchot's transition to active partisan participation was closely related to his fight for conservation. His book, *The Fight For Conservation*, published in 1910, although not an intellectual treatise, emphasized that "the planned and orderly development and conservation of natural resources is the first duty of the United States,"⁵ implying that this basic issue necessitated his eventual political participation. At the time, the *New York Times* felt it a pity that Mr. Pinchot did not confine himself to conservation and leave politics alone.⁶ What the *Times* did not understand was that, during the book's publication in the summer of 1910, Pinchot was simultaneously translating his principles into political action—through Theodore Roosevelt, the rec-

ognized key to insurgent success. Manifestation of this action was indicated by Pinchot who called attention to the fact that upon Roosevelt's return, the ex-President had given interviews to many persons advocating the insurgent stand.⁷ Also, Pinchot's influence on Roosevelt became significant during the ex-President's 1910 Western swing through the country. Not only was Pinchot seen by some as Roosevelt's personal emissary but he was, in part, credited with the radical declarations made by Roosevelt at this time. "I took the Osawatimie speech substantially as you left it,"⁸ said Roosevelt to Pinchot concerning the address considered by historian George Mowry to be the most radical speech ever made by an ex-President.⁹ At Osawatimie Roosevelt endorsed the graduated income and inheritance tax, a comprehensive workingman's compensation law, laws to regulate the conditions and terms of child and female labor, a thorough going revision of the tariff, and greatly increased power for the Bureau of Corporations. So radical had been these declarations that Roosevelt himself became apprehensive. "It is not easy," he wrote to Pinchot, "to stand clear cut on the reform issue, and yet to avoid the fatal pitfalls of factionalism and over-radicals," nervously adding that "to go on behalf of the people much further than the people want, is considerably worse than useless."¹⁰ Confidently, Pinchot replied: "There is at least equal danger of going ahead slower than public opinion . . . Taking it altogether, I estimate the progressive feeling in the people at large somewhat more hopefully than you do."¹¹

Although pleased with Roosevelt's ideological behavior in the West in 1910, Pinchot was much distressed when Roosevelt became involved with the chairmanship of a New York state convention which adopted a platform quite contrary to the spirit of the Osawatimie speech. And when regular Republicans in the East lost the 1910 election, while progressives in the West generally won, Pinchot could only reflect that ". . . the Colonel was not able to see the situation after his return as we who had been in this country through the year of his absence, actually knew it to be." Pinchot added that Roosevelt would surely now understand the feeling for insurgency.¹² In 1912 Roosevelt was to express such an understanding but, for the

moment Pinchot learned that Roosevelt was sufficiently discouraged to declare that under no circumstances would he consider himself as the Presidential candidate of the progressives at the 1912 Republican convention.¹³

Although election results were discouraging to Roosevelt, Pinchot read them as a sign of the times—the Republican Party could only be saved by putting “itself squarely in line with genuinely advanced political principles.”¹⁴ Not as extreme in his views as Henry Wallace, who hoped for an evolving “Progressive Party,”¹⁵ Pinchot felt that a vigorous education campaign, “carried out through Chautauqua meetings and public addresses of various kinds,” would do much to bring backward states into the Republican progressive column. Also, Pinchot saw that the initiation by Republican progressives of plans for reorganizing the party was naturally hinged to the support of a progressive as a 1912 Presidential candidate. Recognizing that Roosevelt did not wish to be considered, Pinchot expressed himself to William Allen White that Robert La Follette and A. B. Cummins seemed to be most available.¹⁶

Education, party reorganization, and selection of a progressive Presidential candidate were to Pinchot essential in the coming battle against Taft. Knowing that the people were prone to charge Taft's mistakes to his advisors and to appreciate the President's personal qualities, Pinchot adamantly insisted that progressives must acquiesce in Taft's nomination “or we have got to fight, and which ever we do we must decide on doing with very little delay.”¹⁷

Action came in January, 1911, with the formation of the National Progressive League of the Republican Party. Enthusiastic about its declaration of principles which advocated such innovations as direct election of United States Senators, direct primaries, direct election of national convention delegates, initiative, referendum, recall, etc., Pinchot assured his friend James Garfield: “The men who have come in are of the right kind, and it seems to me that the whole business is starting well.”¹⁸ Immediate results, however, were apparently not to Pinchot's liking. He complained to Henry Stimson of Senator Bourne's management¹⁹ and rebuked League Secretary Howe, insisting “that the League has got to do something more than

it is doing now to maintain even a prospect of doing the work for which it was organized....”²⁰ To this criticism Howe responded that the League had been actually at work less than a month and had concentrated all its efforts on the legislatures in session in order to secure maximum democratic innovations before they adjourned.²¹

In actuality, Pinchot was taking more interest in what he apparently considered the underlying reason for the League's existence: that of forwarding a progressive Presidential candidate. On March 7, 1911, he repeated to former Governor Pardee of California what he had said many times since the elections: that of the vast majority of progressives “La Follette is the only man in sight . . .”; impatiently adding: “nothing will happen unless we go after it and we ought to do that without delay.”²²

Pinchot's advocacy of La Follette as the progressive choice for the Republican nomination was certainly no indication that he did not prefer Roosevelt. We have already alluded to the Pinchot correspondence describing Roosevelt's political feelings after the 1910 election. George Mowry, in his *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, confirms this point remarking: “After encountering the first major defeat of his career he was in the depths of despondency.”²³ Hence, Pinchot decided to push hard to persuade La Follette to announce his nomination, expressing impatience on May 27: “I want to see La Follette come out as a candidate for the nomination at once. . . .”²⁴ And to Amos Pinchot he said: he would work on the nomination for a short time and “if that fails I shall pull out with a clean conscience. At present writing I am pretty mad, and worse disgusted.”²⁵ Three weeks later La Follette announced his candidacy. In his *Autobiography*, La Follette attributed much of his decision to Pinchot's urging.²⁶

Needless to say, Pinchot was happy about the La Follette candidacy. But while this positive action injected new life into the insurgent drive, concerted progressive action continued to be thwarted—this time by a progressive split over the reciprocity tariff. La Follette and mid-Western Republicans saw the tariff as discriminatory against western farmers. Critics of Pinchot pointed in amusement to such situations in which Republicans were supporting Taft and

the Democratic Congress on liberal issues. Indeed, because of obstructionist tactics of progressive Republicans of the La Follette stamp, some Republicans predicted a Democratic victory in 1912. That La Follette disappointed Pinchot on his final stand against the reciprocity bill was not denied. Pinchot admitted to a friend that he was "keenly sorry that such progressive legislation should pass without the progressive candidate's support." But, characteristically, Pinchot shrugged it off: "As a matter of fact I believe the total effect against La Follette will be comparatively small." The ill-effects of La Follette's reciprocity stand seemed to Pinchot to be more than counteracted by the "developments of the Controller Bay Affair, Wiley matters, and the passage of La Follette's wool bill." "All these things," Pinchot concluded, "will combine before the convention, with other things about which nothing is known, to make Mr. Taft's nomination impossible."²⁷ Added to these issues, Pinchot reiterated that on the major issue of conservation, Taft could not be trusted. Pinchot publicly threw himself into the intra-party fight by definitely spelling out these issues in the *Saturday Evening Post* of October 7, 1916. Although concerned about the effects of this public partisan statement on his future bi-partisan conservation work, Pinchot was pleased with the reaction. The *New Orleans Times-Democrat* editorialized: "Coming in the midst of Mr. Taft's canvass of the west . . . the ex-Forester's attack is shrewdly calculated to damage the Taft movement."²⁸

More pronounced than his optimism over his *Post* article was Pinchot's feeling about recent progressive action with respect to the Presidential nomination. He remarked that "it was the best kind of good news that the recent meeting of progressives at Chicago has put Senator La Follette forward as a candidate for nomination for President."²⁹ Yet, a discordant note struck at the conference by James Garfield, Pinchot's former superior as Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, marked anti-La Follette opposition within the insurgent camp. La Follette records that James Garfield came "direct from New York, where he had been closeted with Roosevelt" and that "although he was careful to speak only for himself he was persistent in opposing the indorsement of the La Follette candidacy."³⁰ When the *Outlook*, under

Roosevelt's editorship, published a statement as a recommendation rather than a committal of the movement to any one man, La Follette expressed distrust of Roosevelt and Garfield, and not his own ardent supporter, Pinchot. La Follette was quite aware of the close association of the three men.

In line with Garfield's action and the statement of the *Outlook*, it is interesting to note that the Pinchot Papers, subsequent to this time, include few endorsements of La Follette without certain qualifications. For example, on November 11th, Pinchot, without endorsing La Follette, emphasized Taft's inability to achieve the renomination and the necessity of the Republicans to nominate someone satisfactory to the progressives.³¹ A week later, Pinchot again endorsed La Follette but not without seeing Roosevelt also as a potential candidate.³² At this time he wrote to a friend that change in the political situation was marked by "a decided increase in the strength of Roosevelt's position, the decided slump in Taft's and the remarkable progress made by La Follette."³³ Interesting also, in the Pinchot Papers, is the tone of Garfield's letters to Pinchot. From the time of the Chicago progressive Republican conference on October 16th, he spoke disparagingly of La Follette's campaign. Clearly revealed also is Pinchot's respect for Garfield's maneuvering for Roosevelt in Ohio.

It is, of course, not difficult to understand Pinchot's shift of support from La Follette to Roosevelt when the latter chose to make the race. Indeed, Roosevelt had been the key to Pinchot's prominence in professional and political life. As President, he was clearly responsible for placing Pinchot and his conservation principles before the public, and as ex-President he inspired Pinchot to an almost fanatical zeal for maintaining Roosevelt's principles within the Taft Administration. When his effort to work with the Taft Administration had failed, Pinchot turned to politics, hoping, in that area, to be in a position to fight more effectively for Roosevelt's interests and principles. In the summer of 1910 Pinchot saw hope in a combination of insurgent radicalism and Roosevelt's political appeal—a combination that he hoped would stop Taft in 1912. It appeared that, through Roosevelt's 1910 Western swing which included the Osawatimie speech, Pinchot's hope was ma-

terializing. Then came, in succession, the conservative Saratoga convention of which Roosevelt was chairman; and the defeat of Roosevelt's gubernatorial candidate in New York. After these failures Pinchot acquiesced in Roosevelt's decision that he remain quiet politically — that he could not be a candidate in 1912. Then Pinchot looked elsewhere for a progressive leader. From today's historical perspective we are not surprised that he turned to La Follette, a courageous insurgent leader in the Senate. And, indeed, Pinchot worked hard for La Follette and the progressive cause. But Pinchot, at this time, was still close to Roosevelt — frequently a guest at Oyster Bay or a caller at the *Outlook* office. So when Roosevelt finally decided to make the 1912 race, it is not difficult to understand that Pinchot would, with perfectly clear conscience, support him. Furthermore, from a practical political viewpoint, Pinchot had boundless faith in Roosevelt's appeal to the country.

Publicly committed, Pinchot equivocally continued to support La Follette. Overt manifestation of his shift was revealed, however, when he succeeded in having a resolution passed by an Ohio progressive conference in January, 1912, expressing the intention of nominating "a progressive Republican for President, recognizing as fellow progressives all who held the principles for which we stand whether they be for the presidential nomination of Robert M. La Follette or Theodore Roosevelt, or any other Progressive Republican."³⁴ When close friends sought clarification of Pinchot's position as related to the candidacy of Roosevelt and La Follette, he naively explained: "My idea of the perfect situation is what I have been trying to bring about in Ohio, viz. . . . a community of interest between the Roosevelt and La Follette forces, with distinct intention that when it becomes necessary later on to make a final choice between the two, that choice shall have been determined by the two principals themselves. . . ."³⁵

By January 27th, Pinchot was saying, privately, that Roosevelt could not avoid the nomination. "Of course," he added revealingly, "I am committed to the La Follette candidacy, and shall remain so. Without it, I doubt if this whole Roosevelt Movement would have come up."³⁶ Simultaneously La Follette, in his *Auto-*

biography, reports that at a conference of the La Follette campaign contributors, Pinchot presented him with the alternatives of either withdrawing in favor of Roosevelt or of withdrawing in favor of no one, leaving the individuals in the group to take what course they chose.³⁷ This proposition being of no avail, an opportunity for Pinchot and other Roosevelt followers to abandon the La Follette campaign was presented on February 2nd, when La Follette spoke at a banquet given by the Publishers Association of Philadelphia. Worn out from his numerous activities and discouraged about the illness of one of his daughters, La Follette "lost his audience," left his prepared manuscript and indulged in a two hour tirade against the big newspaper interests represented by his listeners. His disgusted audience walked out on him and the repetitive speech came to an end at last, with La Follette falling into his seat, exhausted. Although La Follette's breakdown was only temporary, on February 10th Pinchot wired the Minnesota Republican League: "In my judgment, La Follette's condition makes further serious candidacy impossible."³⁸

When La Follette refused to see Pinchot about the latter's request for a release, Pinchot, through correspondence, revealed the whole case in detail. La Follette's candidacy said Pinchot, was undertaken for two clear reasons: first, to hold the progressives together as an effective fighting force, and second, to prevent the renomination of a reactionary Republican for the presidency. Pinchot insisted that this understanding had been perfectly clear. These ideas, said Pinchot, were incorporated in the Chicago Press speech on December 8th, and the Carnegie Hall speech on January 22, with the approval of Houser, La Follette's campaign manager, for the first speech and the approval of both Houser and La Follette for the second speech. Houser also approved the Ohio January 1st resolution which recognized the candidacy of either La Follette or Roosevelt for the presidency. Then Pinchot further stated, La Follette reversed his policy and decided to cooperate in no way with progressives favoring the Roosevelt candidacy. Inasmuch as this reversal of policy was detrimental to the progressive cause and inasmuch as La Follette's only stated objection to Roosevelt was that he did not consider him a progressive, Pinchot felt obliged to with-

draw his support. Reference was made to La Follette's health but it was not stressed by Pinchot as a major consideration for his action.³⁹ From an examination of the Pinchot Papers during this 1909-1910 period, it must be concluded that Pinchot's views respecting his support of La Follette were not exactly consistent with his public and private pronouncements for a La Follette candidacy in the early months of 1911. It seems evident that at that time he did not anticipate Roosevelt's subsequent intention to become a candidate.

Once he had publicly made the break, Pinchot threw himself enthusiastically into the campaign for the Roosevelt nomination by progressive Republicans. Almost paradoxically, he fought against La Follette as ardently as he had defended him in the previous year. He carried the brunt of the charge of the "betrayal of the Senator," specifically when he was sent to California by Roosevelt to counteract "what La Follette is doing in checking Roosevelt sentiment."⁴⁰ This activity, of course, was only the beginning of the long trail of Pinchot's devotion to the Roosevelt "battle at Armageddon." The trail was to carry him through the Republican and Progressive conventions of 1912, the election campaign of that year, and active leadership of the radical wing during the party's four years of uneasy existence.⁴¹

¹ Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 340.

² Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, p. 394.

³ For pro-Pinchot interpretations of the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy see Alpheus T. Mason, *Bureaucracy Convicts Itself*. New York, The Viking Press, 1941, and Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, New York, Harcourt Brace and Company, 1947; for pro-Taft, accounts see Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, Farrar, Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1939 and Harold Ickes, "Not Guilty: Richard A. Ballinger—An American Dreyfus." *Saturday Evening Post*, May 25, 1940.

⁴ Theodore Roosevelt to Gifford Pinchot, March 1, 1910, Box 133. PMSS (Now and hereafter PMSS in footnotes refers to Pinchot MSS found in Library of Congress.)

⁵ Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation*, New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1910, p. 20.

⁶ *The New York Times*, September 10, 1910.

⁷ Gifford Pinchot to J. F. Crawford, June 29, 1910, Box 127. PMSS

⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to Gifford Pinchot, August, 1910. Box 133, PMSS

⁹ George Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1946, p. 144.

¹⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to Gifford Pinchot, August,

1910, Box 133. PMSS

¹¹ Gifford Pinchot to Theodore Roosevelt, August 18, 1910, Box 133. PMSS

¹² Gifford Pinchot to George Pardee, November 11, 1910, Box 111. PMSS

¹³ Gifford Pinchot to W. R. Stubbs, November 16, 1910, Box 134. PMSS

¹⁴ Gifford Pinchot to Fred H. Davis, November 25, 1910, Box 137. PMSS

¹⁵ Henry Wallace to Gifford Pinchot, November 14, 1910, Box 135. PMSS

¹⁶ Gifford Pinchot to William Allen White, December 5, 1910, Box 135. PMSS

¹⁷ Gifford Pinchot to Horace Plunkett, December 17, 1910, Box 132. PMSS

¹⁸ Gifford Pinchot to James Garfield, January 19, 1911, Box 142. PMSS

¹⁹ Gifford Pinchot to Henry Stimson, February 27, 1911, Box 148. PMSS

²⁰ Gifford Pinchot to Frederic Howe, March 3, 1911, Box 145. PMSS

²¹ Frederic Howe to Gifford Pinchot, March 6, 1911, Box 145. PMSS

²² Gifford Pinchot to George Pardee, February 24, 1911, Box 146. PMSS

²³ Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, p. 174.

²⁴ Gifford Pinchot to Hugh Halbert, May 29, 1911, Box 146. PMSS

²⁵ Gifford Pinchot to Amos Pinchot, May 29, 1911, Box 146. PMSS

²⁶ Robert M. La Follette, *Autobiography*, Madison, Wisconsin, The Robert M. La Follette Company, 1913, p. 526.

²⁷ Gifford Pinchot to W. H. Blodgett, July 31, 1911, Box 139. PMSS

²⁸ *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, October 7, 1911, Box 144.

²⁹ Gifford Pinchot to Clarence S. Bliss, Oregon, October 27, 1911, Box 139. PMSS

³⁰ La Follette, *Autobiography*, p. 533.

³¹ Gifford Pinchot to George Pardee, November 11, 1911, Box 146 and Gifford Pinchot to J. F. Crawford, November 11, 1911, Box 141. PMSS

³² Fola and Belle La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954, Fola interprets these statements as endorsements of La Follette by Pinchot but after quoting Pinchot as refusing to see Roosevelt as a candidate she qualifies Pinchot's endorsement by quoting Pinchot as saying "I do not assert that La Follette is yet sure of the nomination." p. 363.

³³ Gifford Pinchot to Horace Plunkett, November 17, 1911, Box 146. PMSS

³⁴ Mowry, *Theodore and the Progressive Movement*, p. 200-201; and La Follette, *Autobiography*, p. 576. Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, p. 366, reports that in December Pinchot told La Follette that if a break came between La Follette and Roosevelt, he would back Roosevelt. On pp. 372-5, Pinchot activity at this Ohio conference is discussed.

³⁵ Gifford Pinchot to George Pardee, January, 1912, Box 156. PMSS

³⁶ Gifford Pinchot to Horace Plunkett, January 29, 1912, Box 133. PMSS

³⁷ La Follette, *Autobiography*, p. 602.

³⁸ La Follette, *Autobiography*, p. 612.

³⁹ Gifford Pinchot to Robert M. La Follette, February 17, 1912, Box 154. PMSS

⁴⁰ Gifford Pinchot to Joseph M. Dixon, April 9, 1912, Box 152. PMSS

⁴¹ Subsequent to this Movement, Pinchot was one of very few remaining Progressives to successfully engage in politics in the conservative years of the 1920's, being elected to office as Republican Governor of Pennsylvania in 1924.

Indigenous Religions in the United States

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III. Christian Science and its Founder

A religion dedicated to the urgencies memorialized in its insignia—a cross and crown circumscribed with the injunctions “Heal the Sick, Raise the Dead, Cleanse the Lepers, Cast out Demons”—must, of necessity, have an uncommon origin. Christian Science, third of the indigenous faiths in America to spring from the “mist-born Protestantism” of rocky New England, surely owes its life, propagation, and final success to the unique character, forcefulness, and personality of its founder or “discoverer” to a much greater degree than does Unitarianism or even Mormonism.

Added to these personal factors—or perhaps responsible for them—was the peculiar New England climate in which the founder matured and from which the new religion spread.

Undoubtedly a part of the appeal Christian Science offered can be explained by a quick look at the intellectual atmosphere which preceded its advent. Of an earlier Puritanism in New England it is important merely to remember that it had existed and that out of it had grown Congregationalism and out of Congregationalism, Unitarianism—the social doctrine which all but obscured the compulsions which had been the weapon and the strength and the weakness of the Puritan.

On ground already furrowed by Unitarianism the vogue for Transcendentalism was in itself a preparation for the particular brand of idealism which Christian Science was to preach. Yet there was a connection between the Puritan and Transcendentalist idealists of the nineteenth century if only that the late comers had discarded all dogmatic limit. For it has been said of the idealists of the Transcendentalist period “Their whole temperamental energy was concentrated in efforts definitely to perceive absolute truths quite beyond the range of any earthly senses.”¹ On this

foundation Mrs. Eddy was to build a newer and more distinctive brand of idealism.

Mary Ann Morse, the youngest of six children of Mark and Abigail Ambrose Baker, was born on July 16, 1821 at Bow Center, near Concord, New Hampshire.² She lived until 1910.

These dates are important—for two reasons. First, the younger part of her life was passed within the period of that New England transcendentalism which marked the ascendancy of Alcott, Emerson, and Thoreau; secondly, living on, into and throughout the opening decade of the twentieth century Mary Baker in her very life was able to encompass almost three generations of Americans—and this at a time when America was being built.

Thus, it would not appear at all singular if her relationships to these generations—and theirs to her—should carry rather differing connotations, and so they did. On her younger contemporaries it can hardly be said that she had any effect at all; to the next generation—through her own efforts indeed, and she was possessed of special talents—she seems to have become an inspired teacher, prophet, and guide; but to the third, which she affected not in any decline of power but only after she had passed three score and ten chronologically, she must have appeared a saint.

Her early life was largely uneventful. Moving to Sanbornton Bridge (New Hampshire) when she was fifteen Miss Baker soon was admitted to membership in the Congregational Church and is said to have attended the local academy.

In 1843 she was married to George Washington Glover, a native of Concord, who had become a construction engineer at Charleston, South Carolina. Distressing to relate, “Major” (he was a member of the Governor’s staff) Glover contracted a fever and died at Wilmington, North Carolina only six months after the

marriage. Mother of his posthumous child, Mary Baker Glover returned to New Hampshire where she lived with her father and her rather affluent sister, Abigail Tilton, at Sanbornton Bridge.

Beset in her younger life by a species of nervous disorder, she was not entirely happy during these years of enforced charity but did endeavor to make a part of her own way by conducting a private school. Report has it that her students greatly enjoyed marching around the classroom singing (at her inspiration):³

We will tell Mrs. Glover
How much we love her;
By the light of the moon
We will come to her.

Mrs. Glover had already had more than a normal share of tribulation and it is little wonder that she indulged herself in the natural longing to be loved. Because of her delicate health the son had been placed in the hands of the family nurse who, she reports, had by now given up New England and moved to the then Far West—Minnesota.

In 1853, however, things began to look brighter. She married Dr. Daniel Patterson, a dentist, of Franklin, New Hampshire, just three miles from Sanbornton Bridge. Nevertheless, the dentist's fortunes were anything but good and soon adversity struck again. After a stormy life with Dr. Patterson she divorced him in 1873.

It was during these years of struggle and misery that Mrs. Patterson began the search and activity which resulted in the creation of another American religious denomination.

It is easy to see how one so beset might quickly turn toward divine guidance and in Mrs. Patterson's case the tendency had already been established. She herself records in *Recollection and Introspection* how at the age of twelve during a fever she had prayed to God for deliverance: "I prayed; and a soft glow of ineffable joy came over me. The fever was gone, and I arose and dressed myself in a normal condition of health."⁴

Shortly before the separation from Dr. Patterson (which preceded her divorce by about ten years)—in the hope of alleviating her nervous and hysterical condition, which had recently become worse—a visit had been made to Portland, Maine to consult Dr.

Phineas P. Quimby, who, it seemed, healed through a combination of suggestion and confidential rapport with his patients. He is said to have devised an explanation or "theology" to accompany his ministrations and concerning which he filled manuscript to the bulk of 800 pages.⁵

Mrs. Patterson received his "treatments" for a period of three weeks. She even began to assist him with other patients. In fact the trip was a great success and she returned to Lynn, Massachusetts, where Dr. Patterson then had headquarters, as "a new woman." Indeed, so enthralled was she with her new condition that she wrote a laudatory letter regarding Quimby and his work which appeared in the *Portland Courier* on November 7, 1862.⁶

This still was a trying period in her life but she had succeeded in getting back her self-esteem and, according to her testimony, the event was now not long off which was to change her life radically and to eventuate in the establishment of Christian Science.

On February 1, 1866 (Dr. Patterson had gone by now) as she was returning to her home in the Swampscott section of Lynn from a meeting of the Good Templars (a fraternal organization in which she took great interest and delight and in which she had quickly become an officer because of her wit and grace in speech) she fell on an icy stretch of pavement and was severely injured.⁷ Carried to her home she was believed to be in a critical condition. On the third day, however, (she reports)⁸ having asked for the Bible, she opened it at Matthew 9:2 for an account of Christian healing; again she experienced a remarkable recovery.

Mrs. Patterson explains it so: "All reality is in God and His creation, harmonious, and eternal. That which He creates is good, and He makes all that is made. Therefore, the only reality of sin, sickness, or death is the awful fact that unrealities seem real to human, erring belief, until God strips off their disguises. They are not true, because they are not [approved] of God."⁹

And further "The Bible was my textbook. It answered my questions as to how I was healed; but the Scriptures had to me a new meaning and a new tongue. Their spiritual significance appeared; and for the first time I

apprehended in their spiritual meaning Jesus' teaching and demonstration and the Principle and the Rule of Christian Science and Metaphysical healing . . . "10

The next few years were a period of embryonic Christian Science. Using her newly discovered powers on others and teaching her methods (largely in Lynn) her star already was ascending. In 1870, at the age of 49, she published *The Science of Man*. "I affix" Mrs. Patterson wrote "for all time the word Science to Christianity; and error to personal sense, and call the world to battle on this issue."¹¹ Following the small edition of *The Science of Man* her textbook, *Science and Health*—later to be also titled *The Key to the Scriptures*—appeared in 1875. The copyright was secured in the name "Mary Baker Glover," she having dropped the Patterson after the divorce in 1873.

Mrs. Baker's coterie was growing. Indeed, regardless of her early delicateness and, even yet, occasional flashes of misery, she appeared to her students to have a stamina and a contagious enthusiasm which impregnated itself into their minds, many becoming followers and "healers." Such a one, Asa Gilbert Eddy, in 1877, became her third husband. A gentle soul, albeit a strong and determined champion of his wife and Christian Science, he died five years later leaving Mrs. Eddy again a widow. "Dr." Eddy is said to have been her first student to use the name Christian Science in connection with the practice of healing.¹²

With the publication of *Science and Health* Mrs. Eddy's philosophy had crystallized. Actually the most distinctive feature of Christian Science is its absolute separation of that which is real and that which is apparent or seeming but unreal. The theology of Christian Science begins with the proposition that God is the only Might or Mind; that He is the divine Principle of all that really is.¹³ Matter as it is conventionally spoken of, for Mrs. Eddy, did not exist.

As to the quality of revelation inherent in Christian Science Mrs. Eddy reports "The Scriptures gave no direct interpretation of the Scientific basis for demonstrating the spiritual principle of healing, until Our Heavenly Father saw fit, through the *Key to the Scriptures in Science and Health* to unlock this mystery of

Godliness."¹⁴ "No human pen or tongue taught me," she said in 1906.¹⁴

Healing, of course, is only a part of Christian Science. The following statement from Mrs. Eddy reveals the more inclusive nature of her faith: "I then knew the principle of all harmonious Mind-Action to be God, and that cures were produced in primitive Christian healing by holy, uplifting Faith; but I must know the Science of this healing, and I won my way to absolute conclusion through divine revelation, reason, and demonstration."¹⁵ Although at first she had not planned to found a distinct church or denomination, it soon became apparent to her that her new theology demanded a special setting in which, and from which, to make its influence felt.

Mrs. Eddy began the organization of her movement in 1876 through the formation of a Christian Science Association. In 1879 she organized the Church of Christ, Scientist, merging the association into it.¹⁶ In 1881 she moved to Boston establishing "The Massachusetts Metaphysical College" in her home at 569 Columbus Avenue where she taught the principles of Christian Science to her followers. Her fee for this course was \$300—a startling sum for tuition lasting barely three weeks—although she sometimes waived the charge for especially promising students.¹⁷

The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist (of which all other Christian Science churches are branches) was founded at Boston in 1892.¹⁸ The Christian Science Publishing Society was likewise established in 1892 and in 1908 (with Mrs. Eddy then 87 years of age) she ordered the founding of the "Christian Science Monitor," an international daily newspaper.

If, on the one hand, Christian Science bears a resemblance to Mormonism in the peculiarly prophetic character of its leader-saint and its divinely inspired book—destined to be placed by the faithful at least parallel to the Bible—there also is a debt to Unitarianism and the Puritanism that underlay it.¹⁹ Like Unitarians, Christian Scientists place an accent on humanitarianism and the social nature of religious observance and the appeal of Christian Science transcends that of the ordinarily theological or ecclesiastical in that communicants are drawn to it for reasons not primarily as operative in

the more conventional Christian denominations.

Like Unitarianism Christian Science considers the divinity of Jesus in a slightly different light from that agreed to by the orthodox Protestant denominations. According to *Science and Health* Jesus was Christ in the sense that he had taken upon himself—or revealed from within himself—the attributes which are usually associated with Christ and Messiahship. Jesus is spoken of as “the Way” or the “Way-Shower”; his at-one-ment, his chief work, was the exemplification of man’s unity with God whenever he reflects divine Truth, Life and Love. Jesus was a human name. Christ expresses God’s spiritual, eternal, nature.²⁰ Thus Jesus demonstrated Christ. This position is not too far from Emerson’s transcendentalism and “Christ in every man.” In Christian Science the expression “Christ Jesus” usually is used when referring to the founder of Christianity.

Parenthetically, the heyday of Transcendentalism also had a rather diverting if not superficial aspect which is admirably described in James Russell’s essay on Thoreau (1865): “A sudden mental and moral mutiny . . . in which every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel.” Fourierism, Homeopathy, Hydropathy, Mesmerism, Phrenology, Vegetarianism, Liberalism, and Idealism each in turn and all together commanded their adherents in the day just preceding Mrs. Eddy’s arrival on the scene. This reference to transcendentalism need not be thought a criticism for “all things worthy of serious interest transcend human experience; a trustworthy clue to them is to be found in the unfathomable excellence of human minds, souls, and spirits.”²¹

William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* reminds us that “we must be ready to judge the religious life by its results exclusively” and that the bugaboo of morbid origin need not be a disturbing factor.²² James also suggests that “If there were such a thing as inspiration from a higher realm, it might well be that the neurotic temperament would furnish the chief condition of the requisite receptivity.”

Without any thought of joining the opposi-

tion it must be admitted that Mrs. Eddy has had many critics. *First*, there are those who fail to find in her personal life those facets which—in their estimation—should identify a religious and spiritual leader, especially one competent to speak definitively on the unreality of matter, sickness, and death. *Secondly*, there is still in some quarters a disposition to look upon her as having appropriated Quimby’s materials and techniques, a criticism which she expressly denies throughout all her writings. *Finally*, her personal and business dealings, the excommunication of adherents who happened to disagree with her, the scope of her personal power in the Church, and what has been considered the “Mariolatry”—she is Mother Mary to the faithful—in Christian Science, all have left their scars.

When criticism or dissent arose, Mrs. Eddy always had two explanations. In many cases she was ready to identify the opposition as malicious and in *Science and Health* a special chapter deals with “Animal Magnetism.”²³ Otherwise the instigator must be led by ignorance or a lack of understanding of Christian Science. There never was any disposition on the part of Mary Baker Glover Eddy to run from a fight. When possible she dealt directly with her detractors or those who were at variance with her views in the Church or in her business matters. Clifford P. Smith, a historian of Christian Science, says “Nothing of moment was done without her approval.”²⁴ Indeed, she was even able to commemorate the opposition of her persecutors in verse:²⁵

“Traitors to the right of them,
M.D.’s to left of them;
Priestcraft in front of them,
Volleyed and thundered.”

That Mrs. Eddy was successful in main lining her church needs no substantiation. Although, through a curious by-law of The First Church of Christ, Scientist (The Mother Church in Boston), membership figures are not released for publication, there were 2323 churches in the United States in 1954.²⁶ In 1950 there were as many as 755 additional churches in Great Britain, Germany, and other foreign countries.²⁷

There now are no pastors in Christian Science churches, although this was not the pro-

cedure in the beginning. During the scriptural part of the ceremony two readers alternate, the first reading from *Science and Health* passages of interpretation as arranged by Mary Baker Eddy, the second intoning the original verses or paragraphs from the Bible.

Mrs. Eddy, on every occasion, denied that Christian Science bore any relationship to pantheism²⁸ or that she was indebted to Bishop Berkeley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, or anyone else.²⁹ Yet she writes in *Science and Health* "If mind is within and without all things, then all is Mind; and this definition is scientific."³⁰ And her system has been called "a crude form of idealistic pantheism," even "one-substance pantheism."³¹

Dakin considered that "[her] concept of God is indeed pantheistic in its connotations; and despite the fact that Mrs. Eddy's denial of matter put her at odds with pantheism . . . it was a concept of great beauty and power."³² Her principle, although possibly original with her, was by no means new to the world of ideas. Thus, it may well be that she wrought better than she knew.

Henry W. Steiger, in a recent doctoral study, buttresses the Eddy denial of mortal mind: "What appears as an existential problem is actually an epistemological one. Mortal mind is a point of view comparable to the Ptolemaic stellar system. . . . We know the concept of man . . . as divine reflection. . . . This eliminates from mortal mind any claim to a real entity. Existence is metaphysical. It is God and man as the totality of divine manifestation. Mortal mind is only a hypothetical point of view. . . ."³³

Christian Scientists, obviously, must agree with Steiger. But a further statement presents a challenge to Scientists as well as to Christians everywhere. "The great need today is a religious concept which is abreast of the times. It must do justice to the maturity of thought which constant contact with the sciences has developed. If Christianity is our religion and is worthy of its prerogatives, it must grow beyond its earlier restrictions, and it is of general concern to investigate whether the doctrine of Christian Science is that much-needed concept."³⁴ Or would Unitarianism or one of the other liberal Christian denominations better suffice?

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¹ Barrett Wendell and Chester Noyes Greenough. *A History of Literature in America*. New York: Scribner's, 1904. p. 243.

² In addition to Mrs. Eddy's own writings three biographies may be mentioned here. Sibyl Wilbur, *Life of Mary Baker Eddy* (New York: Concord Publishing Co., 1907); E. F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy* (New York: Scribner's, 1929); Lyman P. Powell, *Mary Baker Eddy* (New York: Macmillan, 1930); A recent work, Norman Beasley, *Cross and Crown* (New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce—Little, Brown, 1952) although well written is not as complete as the earlier studies.

- ³ As quoted in Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
⁵ "Phineas Parkhurst Quimby," by George A. Quimby. *New England Magazine*, March, 1888.
⁶ As quoted in Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
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⁸ *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 24.
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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 107ff., *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 25.
¹¹ *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 379; *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 25.
¹² *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 42.
¹³ *Science and Health*, p. 275.
¹⁴ *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 37; *Science and Health*, p. 110.
¹⁵ *Science and Health*, p. 109.
¹⁶ Clifford P. Smith, "Mary Baker Eddy," p. 948.
¹⁷ *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 50.
¹⁸ Smith, *op. cit.*, 948.
¹⁹ Henry C. Sheldon in *Christian Science* speaks rather positively about this feature: "It presents itself in the character of a distinct religion no less than does Mormonism which it strongly resembles . . . both in the prophetic function assigned to the founder and in the employment of a concentrated money power in the interest of propaganda." (p. 3).
²⁰ *Science and Health*, p. 18ff., p. 30. pp. 332-333.
²¹ Wendell and Greenough, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
²² *Ibid.*, Chapter I.
²³ *Ibid.*, Chapter V (1906 Edition).
²⁴ "Christian Science," p. 638.
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²⁷ Smith, "Christian Science," p. 639.
²⁸ See her *Christian Science versus Pantheism*.
²⁹ *Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 37.
³⁰ *Science and Health*, p. 257.
³¹ Quoted in Lyman P. Powell, *Christian Science*, p. 20.
³² Dakin, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.
³³ Henry W. Steiger, *Christian Science and Philosophy*, p. 69.
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The Unfeasibility of European Federation Now*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Today, Americans are engaged in a great deal of thought and action concerning European Union. American foreign policy under both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations has been committed to the support of such Union, as well as to functional integration short of political federation; particularly in the area of military power (EDC). American interest in this hoped for development, like that of some European advocates of a United States of Europe, is colored tremendously by our fear lest the Soviets capture the great western European bastion of industrial, technological, and skilled manpower strength. Western Europe is, after all, the second greatest industrial area of the world and its loss to the Soviets, or even its inability to contribute effectively to its and the free nations' resistance to Soviet expansionism, would certainly be of tremendous moment in the current global struggle.

However true all of this undoubtedly is, European Federal Union obviously can not be established solely by wishful thinking or even

by the mere realization that its absence is a threat to the survival of all western civilization—which means, a threat to the homeland of democracy and individual liberty. It is thus of great importance to attempt to cut through the rash of American enthusiasm for the idea based upon a recognition of the contributions which could result from its materialization and consider the problem for what it is; namely, a problem of social and particularly of political science. For, after all, the concept of European Federal Union is no more nor less than the expression of a desire to see established a supra-national regional state. What we ought to be interested in knowing, therefore, are:

1. The current feasibility of European federation; that is, of erecting a Union which would bring into being a single supra-national state.
2. The potentialities of such Union for the causes its creation is supposed to promote: democracy, liberty, and security.
3. The alternatives which exist to such Union if the latter proves to be unfeasible at this point in history.
4. The real nature of the progress towards

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European Federal Union recorded since the end of World War II, and the conclusions which this progress suggests.

To obtain meaningful answers to the above questions requires some attention to the theory of political integration, an awareness of the lessons which may be drawn from the process of political integration as it has actually unfolded in western civilization, and, lastly, a degree of insight into the specifics of current efforts at regional integration in Europe.

II. SOME DEFINITIONS AND THEORY PERTAINING TO POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The process of political integration is a response to a number of human needs, and the various states and associations which have been the fruit of the process bear witness to this fact. However, the process has not been exclusively a product of human rationality any more than it has been exclusively the result of human wickedness or the hunger for power of certain individuals. Rather, what Robert MacIver has referred to as the "web of government" is and has been the offspring of a combination of basic social forces—primarily man's need for companionship and for assistance in his constant struggle to dominate his environment, and his possession of sufficient rationality to comprehend the advantages of community living.

Commencing with the family unit stemming from his desire for sex, love, and companionship, pre-historic man became involved in an unending expansion of his social horizons. Steadily, he broadened his conception of society to permit his participation in ever-greater and more complex groups until his physiologically developed descendant—ancient man—was living in tribes, city-states, and even multi-ethnic empires. To a great extent, this involvement in group and state-building took the form of a chain reaction; each new advance in material well-being and technological skill tending to demonstrate the advantages of elaborate political integration with its common law and common economy. Human sexual, psychological, social, and economic interdependence—and the rationality to understand to some extent its implications—thus form the composite soil from which the process of political integration has sprung. The cultivation of that soil, the skilled nurturing and often brutal exploitation of it,

however, have most often been performed by strong leaders rather than by the efforts of an entire populace joined in voluntary association.

The actual forms of political community which have existed have been varied. To comprehend their nature, and thereby gain insight into the entire process of political integration, some definition and theoretical dissection is necessary. To begin with, there is the question as to how one defines a political community. Professor Karl Deutsch's effort in this regard is a most useful starting point. He has recently written that a political community (be it ancient Athens or the proposed European Union) is:

... a community of social interaction supplemented by both enforcement and compliance. In this sense, it is a community of persons, in which common or coordinated facilities for the making of decisions and the enforcement of commands are supplemented by habits of compliance which are sufficiently widespread and predictable to make successful enforcement in the remaining cases of non-compliance probable at an economically and culturally feasible cost.¹

This conception of the coexistence of coercion and consensus as the essential characteristics of all political communities is the key to any study of state-building, for it opens the way to an intelligent consideration of political obedience—how it is obtained and maintained. To a great extent, the secret of stable political communities capable of surviving the various crises with which all societies are confronted at times lies in the art of maximizing voluntary political obedience and minimizing the necessity to resort to formal coercion. How to obtain consensus is thus the crucial question whose answer determines the probable success of some new unit such as the envisioned European Union. For, accepting the basic validity of all condemnations of force as an adequate foundation, in itself, for stable community, it then follows that the degree of consensus or voluntary compliance obtainable at any time determines the ability of a given community to survive. Moreover, it also follows that the degree to which a political community formulates and executes decisions in terms of consensus has great bearing on whether or not it is democratic. Democracy, after all, must depend upon a large measure of consensus, though, of course,

the existence of consensus does not, in itself, guarantee democracy. People can agree in great numbers, as the Germans did in 1932 and 1933, to "escape from freedom" into the security of totalitarianism. Without some real measure of consensus, however, there is left only force as an instrument for the extraction of obedience, and such can never be the sole basis for perpetuating a regime indefinitely. The slightest weakening in the iron hand which governs under such circumstances, and the absence of any other cohesive cement produces the crumbling of the state.

Having remarked that a political community depends for its survival in large measure on the degree of consensus which can be obtained in behalf of the formulation and particularly the execution of decisions—such decision-making and enforcement being the heart of political community—it therefore becomes extremely important to inquire into the source of this consensus in any state. To this writer's mind, consensus or "compliance" can be viewed as a manifestation of a "sense of community." By "sense of community" is meant that feeling within individuals that their own beliefs, behavior, and aspirations are similar to and compatible with those of other individuals. "Sense of community" is thus a voluntary identification of oneself with a group. It is a feeling that life within a given group will satisfy one's fundamental social needs—those sexual, psychological, social, and economic requirements which draw men together into groups and thereby motivate the entire political process. Inherent in "sense of community," therefore, is the belief that "common social problems must and can be resolved or adjusted by processes of peaceful change."² From "sense of community" and the stable political integration it makes possible, thus comes individual and collective political security—the ability to resolve one's problems and pursue one's aspirations within a political community with reasonable certainty that resort to force will not be necessary or undertaken.

Since political communities of any survival ability and stability must have some measure of consensus, and since consensus is primarily a product of "sense of community," the process of integration or community building is obviously dependent to a great extent on such "sense of community." Either the latter exists prior

to the establishment of political institutions—in which case the appearance of a state involves primarily the formalization of that "sense of community"—or the political institutions are established in the main by resort to force, in which case the "sense of community" necessary for the survival and stability of the new state must be cultivated as rapidly as possible. To establish a new political community by voluntary association—which is the nature of the present effort in Europe—thus requires a great deal of psychological and sociological preparation among the people who are to compose it. As Quincy Wright has remarked in an article on "Method in the Study of War,"³ the problem of establishing supra-national government (such as European Union), and, we might add, the problem of establishing all forms of political community, is that "of maintaining the precise degree of centralization of government over the whole, adapted . . . to the degree of social solidarity among the parts."

If force is not to be employed exclusively, then, in maintaining a state, a significant measure of "social solidarity" or "sense of community" must exist before a state is created. New institutions which work successfully can thereafter stimulate a greater degree of community sense. Obviously, however, to establish institutions without the necessary psychological foundation is to risk a failure which may cause a reduction in whatever "sense of community" does exist, and probably, to institute and operate such institutions would require a dependence upon force so great that democracy could not be permitted to function.

From this brief excursion through the theory of political integration, the conclusion is thus drawn that the forms of political relationship operative or capable of establishment at any time on a voluntary basis are heavily dependent upon the degree of "sense of community" which prevails. This is most true when democratically organized political relationships are in question.

III. LESSONS WHICH MAY BE DRAWN FROM THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN THE WEST

When one comes to review the manner in which political integration has occurred in western civilization from the beginning of recorded history to the present, several outstanding lessons can be learned.

The first is that state-building has been pri-

marily a product of imposition by non-democratic means, though all successful states have nevertheless served many of the human political needs previously noted and have built upon or developed a measure of consensus to sustain themselves.

The second is that "sense of community" has steadily increased in importance as a foundation for stable states as technology has facilitated mass communication, improved mass standards of living, and raised mass literacy.

The third is that our present state system—the nation-state system—is based upon the strongest "sense of community" in history and, as a result, constitutes the greatest obstacle to the creation of larger political communities that has ever existed. Mere fear of a common potential foe does not overshadow nationalism.

The fourth is that this contemporary "sense of community"—nationalism—probably must be de-politized and a broader community sense developed in its stead in order to erect stable and more widely based states; the creation of real security for such enlarged areas being highly unlikely on any mere association of nation-states basis. This conclusion stems from the fact that, in addition to the positive contributions rendered by "sense of community" in facilitating political integration, its existence has always fostered intergroup and interstate conflict. Nationalism, as the most intense form of "sense of community" in history, is thus the most violent in its destructive potentialities and, therefore, the most divisive form of group solidarity to exist as far as any further political integration is concerned.

The fifth is that regional political communities, like nation-states, will not resolve the global problem of peace. In fact, they may produce even more horrible wars than their predecessors. They therefore constitute progress toward world security only to the extent that they promote temporary peace while fostering the cause of global integration.

Without engaging in any lengthy recounting of western history, documentation for the above conclusions is easily obtainable. In the Ancient World, the process of political integration which culminated in the Roman Empire certainly revealed very little of either government by consent of the governed or of the expansion of political communities by voluntary, mass asso-

ciation. The tribes of pre-Greek history which created city-states and then, in some instances, were able to expand over large areas through the establishment of such multi-ethnic empires as the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian, either employed force or obtained consent solely from the leadership groups of their subject peoples in exchange for benefits provided them. These empires thus depended for their survival upon a combination of force exerted by authoritarian rulers, loyalty to the regime on the part of those bureaucrats and militarists who executed the decisions of the rulers, and varying degrees of compliance by populaces lacking in any full measure of imperial community sense or means of effective opposition. That such systems were able to perpetuate themselves for lengthy periods of time, in some instances, was due both to that degree of consensus which was obtained from various elites and masses and to the highly limited impact on political affairs which the low level of technology and literacy permitted the masses of people.

When the Greek city-states emerged, the greater measure of "sense of community" which characterized them became a major obstacle to the establishment of any Greek-wide state, and, ultimately, resulted in their common loss of independence to Macedon and Rome. As to that awe-inspiring empire which spread from the Tiber, its survival was also in large part a product of the same forces which held together its lesser imperial predecessors. There was a great administrative machine backed by a relatively invincible army; both of which executed the will of authoritarian decision-makers for most of its twelve centuries. In the case of Rome, however, a larger measure of compliance developed both because of the long period of peace and common civilization imposed throughout its domains and because of the policy of making privileges like military rank and citizenship available to the subjugated.

That Rome did generate a limited though widespread "sense of community" throughout the empire was demonstrated by the search in which medieval man engaged for means to recreate the old unity, and his efforts to obtain the same through the Holy Roman Empire and Catholic Church.

The interrelated series of religious, intellectual, economic, and political revolts which her-

alded the forces of modernity and destroyed feudalism gave birth to that nation-state system which contemporary efforts at European Union desire quite rightly to consign to the historical junk-heap. The pattern and state form of modern Europe evolved in three broad and interdependent stages. First the great feudal princes constructed centralized dynastic states to replace medievalism's pretense at a perpetuation of Roman unity. These new states were erected and governed by autocrats, whose will was executed by a class of personally loyal professional bureaucrats and military leaders with the aid of funds and consent provided by the rising middle class. Out of this complex of dynastic ambition, bourgeois need, military power and bureaucratic elaboration—supported in Protestant areas by state churches and in Catholic territories by mutually advantageous church-state alliances—the Europe we know took initial political form. Thereafter, each effort of the dynasts to establish greater centralization and facilitate their ability to control the new states unintentionally welded the subject peoples into groups endowed with national consciousness. A second stage in Europe's modern political evolution was the result.

What gave this new form of community sense its unique character was not its "texture," in Hans Kohn's terminology.⁴ The sense of psychological and cultural identification in which it was rooted certainly was of a piece with previous historical manifestations of group solidarity. The most portentous differences stemmed from the totally novel political, social, economic, and technological setting which permitted the extension of community to encompass groups the size of nationalities. Modern media of communications and transportation, and the centralized states made possible by them, meant that the new "sense of community" would involve all the members of a state and compel a reflection of their desires to a greater degree than ever before. "Sense of community," therefore, by the advent of the eighteenth century, had engendered that supreme conception of group loyalty which we know as nationalism. The third stage in the evolution of the European state system had been entered.

It certainly is not necessary to belabor the record of nationalism. What is important to an evaluation of the present possibilities of

European Union is the knowledge that, despite making possible a broader degree of political integration than ever before existed, nationalism also eventually revealed itself to be—in magnification of preceding forms of community sense—the source of variants on militarism, imperialism, and racism of the greatest destructive capacity. Because of it, entire peoples numbering millions of humans were pitted against each other in a competition of pride, economics, and frequently of arms. Total wars fought by nation-states which exerted themselves through total control of their citizenry (even the democracies increasingly being compelled to resort to "constitutional dictatorship") have been nationalism's major fruit. In the case of Europe, it not only has meant involvement in a series of devastating wars which have bled it physically and materially to the point of near prostration, but also the complete destruction of the old Roman and even of the lesser medieval unity. Europe, today, has neither cultural, spiritual, nor material unity despite the internationalism and supra-nationalism of some of its intellectual elites. This is so because Europe is composed not just of high-minded and cultivated men and women striving to emphasize the common western civilization of which it is the elder daughter. Europe is made up primarily of millions of average people who have been subjected to and captured by nationalism in much the same way that all the modern non-European states have been. These people, like Americans or Canadians or Japanese, remain nationals first and members of a particular civilization second. They have developed not merely deep-rooted antagonisms toward each other, but distinctive and often conflicting national "characters"; the latter not based upon mythical inherent traits but upon their separate integrations as unique communities and long involvement as groups with different environments productive of highly divergent customs, social codes, values, institutions, and ideologies. Despite the existence of differences within particular nations resulting from such things as individually dissimilar environments and experiences, therefore, Frenchmen and Germans and Italians and Hollanders do not bear the same relationship to each other as Virginians, Vermonters, and New Yorkers did in 1776, when some British colonials living

in separate but contiguous and commonly governed colonies decided to establish an independent though loosely bound union. The United States of America was founded, it must be remembered, by people who were overwhelmingly of a common cultural background, unmarred by either nationalistic antagonisms or centuries of organization into independent competitive states.

IV. THE NATURE OF RECENT EUROPEAN EFFORTS TOWARD UNITY

Nothing provides a greater demonstration of the validity of the above emphasis on Europe's unreadiness for union than an evaluation of what Europeans (and of course it is only west Europeans) have accomplished to date in this era of greatest effort to promote a heightened degree of integration among themselves. For, the post World War II activity—undertaken in reaction to the demands of the most enthusiastic and influential continental supporters of Union as well as to the firm prodding of the United States—substantiates the view that the degree of "sense of community" necessary to the establishment of a democratic federal union does not now prevail. The cause of European integration undoubtedly has been furthered, but Europeans are nowhere near a realization of real federation. The minimal amount of consensus required to establish such political integration by democratic methods just is not in existence. This is not to say that it will not evolve at some future date, but it is to say that even the efforts of Europe's most ambitious proponents of unity (during a period which continental weakness and the Soviet menace has made more propitious than perhaps any of previous history) have not revealed any readiness for federal union.

To begin with, of the twenty European nation-states outside the Soviet orbit, only six are actually involved in anything like a serious effort to achieve political integration. This "Little Europe" is composed of Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, West Germany, France, and Italy. For various reasons having to do with their proximity to the Soviets (Finland and Scandinavia), their separate regional character (Scandinavia), traditionally neutral status (Switzerland and Sweden), their lack of historic membership in Europe (Turkey), continued involvement in World War II occupation

(Austria), special political complexion (Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal), and international commitments (United Kingdom), all but these six states are relatively uninterested in any participation in European Union. This "Europe of the Six," however, is probably that portion of the continent which offers the greatest possibilities for the erection of a viable Union since it constitutes the heartland of western civilization, contains the second greatest complex of industrial power and technologically skilled labor force in the world, involves a majority of the major non-Communist European powers, and also forms at present a contiguous bloc of democratic states.

To date, some or all of the Six have entered into eight organizational relationships since the destruction of the Nazi effort to impose unity through a German dominated "new order." In March of 1947 the French and British created a fifty year mutual defense and assistance alliance aimed at any renewal of German aggression. Such a treaty, however, obviously does not constitute any measure of political integration looking towards the formation of a common political community. Much more important, therefore, was the establishment in January of 1948 of the Benelux Union—an effort to create a customs union among Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg which might eventually blossom into a completely free market which transcended national frontiers. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the Low Countries were once involved in a common Union which lasted until the end of the sixteenth century, progress has been very disappointing and nothing of a supra-national character has yet been institutionalized. For, the Dutch planned economy has conflicted with Belgium's adherence to modified economic liberalism, the former's Protestantism is not easily reconcilable with the latter's Catholicism, occupational groups in the three states vigorously oppose any personal economic loss in the interest of facilitating economic union, and differences in wage and price levels cause fears and frictions among both consumers and producers. The result has been, therefore, only limited economic progress and no pooling of national sovereignty whatsoever.

A third major cooperative effort by Europeans in the post World War II era is the Organiza-

tion for European Economic Cooperation (O.E.E.C.). Established in April of 1948 by fifteen states—later joined by West Germany and internationalized Trieste—this mechanism was a direct result of the American Marshall Plan offer to help Europe towards economic rehabilitation. Since its erection, the O.E.E.C. has provided its members with important experience in working together on common economic problems and some reduction in trade barriers have been achieved in addition to the cooperative utilization of Marshall Plan funds. However, since the cessation of the latter and greater American concentration on military aid, the organization's significance has diminished. Moreover, at no time was it any more than a directorate composed of independent states and devoid of supra-national characteristics. The same is also true of its offspring, the European Payments Union, which was created by the O.E.E.C. members in September of 1950 to act as an accounting and clearing house in the field of international finance.

On March 17, 1948, and as a result of an initiative taken by Britain's Ernest Bevin, the Franco-British Dunkirk Treaty was linked to the military defense efforts of the Benelux states through the establishment of the Brussels Pact. Confronted by the threat to their common well-being presented by Soviet expansionism, the five states banded themselves into a regional collective security system whose essential ingredient was a written pledge by the members to provide military assistance if any of their number were attacked in Europe. In addition, economic, cultural, and social clauses expressed a desire to foster an institutionalization of integration in these areas as well. Permanent organs, and a hierarchy of military agencies to supervise and provide for the needs of a common army were created. Despite all of this significant effort, however, the Brussels Pact Army never got beyond the stage of establishing an international planning staff under Field Marshal Montgomery, while no supra-national machinery in either the military or other fields appeared. Once more, experience in cooperative effort was gained which made the establishment of NATO (which absorbed the Brussels Pact organization) easier and perhaps brought groups of citizens from the respective countries closer together. Nevertheless, this was certainly

no federal movement aimed at political union.

The Council of Europe which was established in August of 1949 went far beyond the Six to include in its membership just about all the non-Soviet states of Europe. Despite the great hopes originally held for it by European Union enthusiasts, it has become a discussion organization of sovereign and independent states whose primary contributions are to provide a sounding board for schemes offering greater possibility of political integration and to constitute an organizational link between the Six and the rest of non-Communist Europe.

It is only when one comes to consider the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Defense Community, and the plan for a European Political Community, that anything approaching supra-national integration is encountered. The Coal and Steel Community, which stemmed from the plan of French Foreign Minister Schuman, was ratified by the Six (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and West Germany) in April of 1952. It constitutes to date the most hopeful—and the only—west European effort at supra-national organization. Very significantly, however, it is not a political union but a carefully de-limited organization to control the coal and steel resources of its members for their common well-being. It also aspires to the eventual establishment of an economic free market in the region, and was sponsored in part with the belief that such an economic union would make any new Franco-German wars impossible.

An investigation of the E.C.S.C. machinery reveals that it is primarily international in character, but has some important though limited supra-national qualities. Thus the High Authority which acts as the executive is authorized by the treaty to exercise its rightful powers on its own initiative rather than in response to directives from the member governments, while the latter have relinquished some of their control over national heavy industry and are pledged to carry out all decisions of the Community. The Court of Justice, moreover, is assured by treaty that its decisions will be enforceable in the territory of the member states. On the other hand, alongside of these important evidences of limitation on national sovereignty, there are the many arrangements which reflect national independence and thus are inter-

national rather than supra-national in character. Among these features are the Consultative Committee, whose weighted representation of producers, workers, and consumers from the member states is selected on a national basis. This Committee can, in some instances, compel the High Authority to take its advice. There is also an Assembly, whose members are chosen by the nation-states in accord with a weighting reflecting the divergent power and size of populations involved. This Assembly can, by a two-thirds vote, compel the resignation of the High Authority occupants and also apply pressure upon them even though they remain in office. Finally, there is a Council of Ministers composed of representatives of each member state, which accords to each a single vote. This Council participates by right in much of the most important decision-making, can compel the High Authority to gain its consent in some areas, and can override the High Authority by unanimous decision in others. The European Coal and Steel Community, while a most encouraging experiment in a specific economic area which has definite supra-national characteristics, must thus be seen for what it is — a hopeful first step in the direction of European economic integration but certainly not a European political union.

The European Defence Community treaty, which was signed in May of 1952, has not yet been ratified as American officials and newspapers constantly remind us and the Franco-Italian hold-outs. Composed of the ECSC powers, and somewhat reflecting its structure (the Assembly and Court are the ECSC organs with additional representatives in the case of the former), it too is an example of functional integration which intermingles intergovernmental and supra-national machinery. EDC's Commissariat, or executive organ, can take binding decisions within its area of competency without recourse to the member governments. However, since the organization has as its primary purpose the creation of a European army tied to NATO, the Commissariat's actions do not involve policy formulation but the execution of NATO-made policy.

In contrast to the ECSC, the EDC's Council of Ministers is actually dominant, since it instructs the Commissariat on major policy by unanimous vote of its national representatives.

For the rest, EDC is devoted to the organization of a European Army though not a European political authority to direct that army. Concern for the monumental task of capping the ECSC and EDC structures with a Political Community was assigned in September of 1952 to the already existent ECSC Assembly (enlarged by nine additional members to make it the size of the contemplated EDC Assembly).

On January 10, 1953, the *ad hoc* Assembly noted immediately above adopted a draft statute for a European Political Community "of supra-national character." It is in this proposed treaty, then, that one finds the maximum expression of contemporary European efforts to establish a political union. So advanced, in fact, are the proposals, that the draft has not yet been converted into a treaty let alone presented for ratification to the various national assemblies of the Six. Despite this, however, an analysis of the proposal reveals that it does not come close to suggesting the establishment of a European Federal Union and, indeed, makes recommendations which even fall short in integrative quality of those inadequate Articles of Confederation which preceded the creation of the present American federal union. In other words, not even the most visionary official proposal of Europe's six most active participants in integrative activities suggests the erection of a real European Federal Union.

Without becoming immersed in all of the technical intricacies of the Draft Statute for a European Political Community, a number of major examples of its inadequacy as a basis for federal union or the establishment of any other type of regional European state may be noted. For one thing, both houses of the proposed parliament are to be selected according to nationality with the result that there will be no representation on the basis of population as in the case of the American House of Representatives. Either of these two houses, which reflect the will of the member states, can overthrow the President and Executive Council.

Another example of the extent to which the suggested European Political Community would be dominated by the individual nation-states composing it is provided by the Council of National Ministers included in the system. This body, which would take over from the similar organs of the ECSC and EDC, is to be com-

posed of one representative from each member-state. It would be given veto power in matters of finance and use of the community's armed forces as well in foreign policy; such veto authority being available to each and every member-state represented on the Council, since unanimous approval for community action in these areas is stipulated. Here then, is the very rule of unanimity which has hamstrung the United Nations Security Council. The same National Ministers Council also must give its unanimous consent to any Community intervention in the member-states in order to maintain constitutional order or democratic institutions, as well as to constitutional amendments and efforts during the first six years of existence to establish a common economic market in the Community. To top it off, the member-states will be able to continue to conduct independent foreign policies subject only to the requirement that they not enter into treaties which conflict with their obligations towards the Community. Even the very weak American Articles of Confederation did not authorize such separate foreign policy action by the states.

The proposed relationship between the European Political Community executive and parliament offers further disturbing evidence of the fact that no real federal Union — nor even a strong confederation — would result in the remote case that the Draft Statute were ratified in the near future. For the Executive Council's weakness in relations with the parliament and subordination to the veto power of the Council of National Ministers undoubtedly would mean the existence of great political instability and makes questionable the ability of the Community to provide effective government. To the extent that such were to prove true, the result would be an accentuation of all the centrifugal forces previously noted and a possible complete disintegration of the Community.

Such is the nature of the most ambitious and visionary proposal for European political union yet participated in by official government representatives of the six most active nation-states in efforts at integration. The obvious conclusion to be drawn, it thus appears, is that even the leaders in the movement for unity are not now prepared to talk real union. The necessary minimum "sense of community" does not yet exist, and, if it does not exist among the en-

lightened leaders, it certainly is absent as a force motivating the behavior of the masses of the various nation-states.

V. CONCLUSIONS

From the theory of political integration we learn that democratically founded and operated states must depend to a great extent upon the consent of the governed. That consent materializes only when a given people is welded together by a common "sense of community." Without this socio-psychological bond to underpin a state, there remains only the imposition of institutions by force.

A survey of the history of state-building or political integration in western civilization reveals that most states, including the current nation-states of western Europe, were established by authoritarian rather than democratic means. Thereafter, survival was dependent in large measure on the extent to which some type of community "sense" developed. In the case of modern Europe, that community "sense" has been nationalism. The process by which contemporary Europe was made also reveals that nationalism is by far the most powerful "sense of community" ever manifested. As a result, it has not only welded huge numbers of peoples into nation-states but, through its success in so doing, stands forth as a tremendous obstacle to any supra-national state building of the European Union variety.

An evaluation of the outstanding post World War II efforts of European states to promote their integration discloses that only the European Coal and Steel Community has any supra-national characteristics among the organizations operative to date. It, moreover, is functioning in a very clearly defined though important economic field, and has as many if not more international features than supra-national ones. The European Defense Community, still not ratified, provides evidence of less rather than of more submergence of national sovereignty than does the ECSC. It, of course, would function in one of the most sensitive and jealously guarded areas of national independence. Nonetheless, EDC, like the ECSC, must be enclosed by a European Political Community before any real European regional state exists. The fact that the only proposal for such a political community yet given official consideration by the Six — a proposal regarded as so advanced that no

active steps to put it into effect have been taken—does not contemplate the establishment of a supra-national federation, is outstanding evidence that western Europe is not yet ready to be merged into a single state.

From the above, this writer draws the following conclusions as they pertain to the questions posed at the outset concerning European Federal Union:

1. Given the obviously limited character of the "sense of community" prevalent among west Europeans, the only way in which a single political community could be established now is by force. One of the European states, or some outside power, would have to impose it on the others. This is true primarily because of the degree of disunity and separatism fostered by nationalism and the nation-state system. Fear of the Soviet Union is not enough to provide a substitute for "sense of community," just as fear of a common foe has never been enough to create stable alliance systems. As soon as such fear diminishes, or other and conflicting fears develop (such as fear of war, itself, regardless of who causes it), there is nothing left to maintain cohesion. No stable and highly integrated community can thus be created and maintained through democratic voluntary association without widespread consensus rooted in "sense of community."

2. If, by some truly remarkable development, western Europe were transformed into a single federated state in the immediate future, this act of the various political leaders—lacking the necessary foundation of mass "sense of community"—would survive only if European democracy were seriously restricted in favor of government based upon greatly intensified coercion. Thus, either democracy and liberty would be severely curtailed to perpetuate the community, or the latter would disintegrate. If democracy lost out, moreover, World War III would probably result. If it prevailed, then no great enhancement of western and American security would occur.

3. The really meaningful choices of types of regional integration available to western Europe at present—in line with its democracy and

limited sense of solidarity—are some form of alliance system based on pledges of peace among the members and common defense against aggression, or a loose confederation similar to that established by the American Articles of Confederation. The confederation—which differs from federation in that no real central government is created but only central authorities which recognize a continued large measure of member-state independence—is the maximum possible of attainment now. In either case, the limited degree of consensus existent makes necessary the creation of a written compact to add firmness to the uncertain voluntary cohesion, as well as active British and American guarantees of support to reassure the members who fear each other. Within either type of system, progress toward eventual federation could be made through a gradual pyramiding of functionally integrated institutions in carefully delimited areas. Thus, through such bold efforts as ECSC and EDC and the similar organizations which might follow in other fields, each success would serve to heighten the necessary "sense of community" while simultaneously de-politizing nationality. Eventually, through such gradual functional integration within a broader though looser regional framework, nationalism might be separated from politics and—like religion—transformed into a sentiment which would not conflict with the larger "sense of community" on which European Union must be erected. The very worst thing for the cause of European Union and the security of the West would be some revolutionary effort at full federal integration before the essential socio-psychological foundation has evolved. Stable democratic states are never a maze of rootless institutions constructed in haste either through fear or idealism.

¹ K. Deutsch, *Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement*, Princeton Foreign Policy Analysis, Series No. 2, September, 1953. p. 16.

² Richard Van Wagenen, *Research in the International Organization Field*, publication No. 1, Princeton Center for Research on World Political Institutions, 1952.

³ See *World Politics*, January, 1949. p. 253.

⁴ See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, New York: Macmillan, 1946. p. 4.

Proper Perspective in American History

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In his illuminating social history, *Only Yesterday*, the late Frederick Lewis Allen made more than passing reference to the cynicism and debunking which flourished during the period of the 1920's. Allen noted the growing disillusionment of the then younger generation as expressed through the writings of the Menckens, Lewises, Hemingways, Fitzgeralds *et al.* Although these writers, in the name of realism, sometimes gave a distorted picture of the American scene, their ideas were mirrored in the mode of thought of many of the pseudo-educated youngsters of that particular period.

Linked to this trend toward so-called realistic writing was the then popular pastime of deglamourizing America's historical greats. It was a kind of warped throwback to the days of the muckrakers. Washington and Grant were depicted as heavy drinkers, Jefferson and Paine were vilified as atheists, Andy Jackson was a murderer. The one-quarter truth concerning American luminaries was inflated four times over by bogus biographers until it was presented as historical fact.

In part, at least, the atmosphere engendered by this type of shabby thinking helped to create an army of recruits to the principles of skepticism, disbelief—and sometimes Communism. These recruits took the form of the "better world" theorists who had soured on America and Americanism. Sometimes from their ranks came a Chambers or a Hiss to work planned malevolence on the democratic system via the underground. It was, in a very real sense, transplanted European cynicism in action, a cynicism which was the natural harvest of crops sown for centuries in Europe's fields of carnage by the famed Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

In our own time, we have seen fitful recurrences of those twin maladies, fact distortion and resultant disillusionment. In the light of present day events, this is quite natural—and also quite dangerous. Particularly it is dangerous when it invades our public schools through the medium of loose-thinking, semi-educated instructors whose marked immaturity consigns a common sense judgment of proper perspective to the trash heap.

We have in our midst too many social studies teachers whose appetites are whetted by the little known, unimportant event. Eager to inject some life into their own classroom situations, they work over these items of lesser importance, placing too much stress on trivialities, and conversely, too little stress on happenings of real importance. Very often these minor happenings, blown out of proportion, can lead the still immature and pliable minds of the average high school student to false assumptions and erroneous conclusions. Let us look at what might be a typical example of this.

Instructor X, fresh out of college and armed with some eye-opening sidelights of American history, decides to give the yellow journalism treatment to his lecture for the day. This may take any one of many forms, depending upon the phase of history being covered at the time. But Mr. X has some "facts" to give out, tidbits of information which he will drool over, suck upon and savour before serving his *hors d'oeuvres* of erudition. For, to the uninitiated students, "X" will present facts which (he will imply) were heretofore known only to himself and God.

Consequently, if he's covering the American Revolution, he'll spend a disproportionate

amount of time on the inadequacies of the likes of Sam Adams, on the blasphemous utterances of Ethan Allen, on the smuggling activities of John Hancock, on the marathon run of General Gates from Camden battlefield, or on the overall feeling of lukewarmness which many colonials exhibited to the cause of independence.

Now, all of these items have some or a great deal of historical accuracy. But it is virtually sacrilege to allow such points of interest to overshadow the real importance and significance of the Revolutionary War itself, to relegate to second position the selfless contributions and sacrifices of the likes of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Greene and others. If we leave our youngsters with the belief that the Revolution was successfully staged by a collection of law violators, smugglers, athiests, and crackpots, then it is time either to re-evaluate our purposes in teaching the social studies or to get out of the teaching profession altogether.

Recently, I chanced to attend a departmental meeting of the social studies teachers of a high school which shall remain anonymous. At one point, the group was discussing the manner in which such documents as The Declaration of Independence and The Constitution should be treated in the classroom. One of the self-admitted brighter pedagogues referred blatantly to the Declaration as a masterpiece of propaganda. He went on to expound upon the Constitution as emerging as a finished product made up of compromises unsatisfactory to all then concerned and as a piece of work replete with imperfections. He then sneeringly harranged upon the "old-style" concept of viewing the Constitution as some sacred relic. I began to feel slightly ill.

No, I do not feel that our Constitution is completely above reproach. The men who drew it up were mortals and hence sometimes prone to err. The Constitution is not a sacred cow, but—if I were forced to choose between the worshipful approach and the debunking approach in appraising its worth, I wouldn't hesitate to choose the former. It stands as too great a monument (even with its imperfections) to

believers in democratic government to be brushed aside with half-truths and perversions.

Nor can I simply write off the Declaration of Independence as a "masterpiece of propaganda." The great fundamental truths as presented by Jefferson—truths which brought hope to the enslaved millions of the world—can not be written off lightly by tabbing them with the weasel word, "propaganda" and letting it go at that. How can we ever hope to build a stronger country with that type of teaching molding the minds of our youth?

Other playground areas for those who employ distortion and myopic perspective are too numerous to mention. A partial listing of such areas would include the Panama Revolution, the Grant and Harding scandals, the Spanish-American War and the annexation of the Philippines, the Venezuela Controversy, our squabble with Chile in the 1890's, the Mexican War, and many others. In all of these, it is true, there can be found facts to delight the cynic and the scorner. In many of these, it should also be added, there can be found solid evidences of our country's valuable contributions to mankind and the world. Didn't we guide the Filipinos to independence? Didn't we materially improve conditions in Cuba and Panama? Hasn't the Panama Canal been a boon to most of the nations of the world as well as a money maker for us? Weren't we fortuitous enough to air the scandals of Teapot Dome and bring the offenders to light?

No, I'm not being naive. Nor am I trying to appear chauvinistic. I simply believe all the facts should be stressed in order to get the complete picture.

In conclusion, I do not believe that one needs to be an apologist for his country's actions in teaching American history. As a nation, we have made mistakes. Let's candidly admit this fact in our classroom presentations. But let us not bury our glorious past under a stack of relatively insignificant and improperly magnified bits of trivia. Our heritage demands fairer treatment.

The Significance of International Festivals

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While our attention is being directed toward Europe in terms of N.A.T.O., the Schuman Plan and the growing sense of European unity, little has been said about the great intellectual upsurge evident in Europe today. Yet, this is a development just as important as the efforts toward the strengthening of Europe's physical defenses because it does provide the cultural, intellectual and psychological basis without which mere physical defense would be rather worthless. A multitude of books is being produced dealing with every conceivable cultural and intellectual subject; music is being produced and performed; institutions of learning flourish as never before. But Europe's most eloquent expression of its faith and confidence in the future of Western civilization is the numerous artistic and musical festivals which are being held there. There are several hundred of them, each with a personality all its own. Each one expresses through the medium of art, music and the theatre Europe's unshakable belief in the validity of Western civilization, in the unconquerable spirit of a free society and the conviction that, in the end, the spirit of the free world will prove stronger than the weapons of the totalitarians. Men of the spirit, not those of the sword, are the true leaders of humanity.

In the fight against Communism and Fascism, the importance of these festivals can hardly be overestimated. Their existence so dramatically demonstrates that the free cultural life, unhampered by doctrines and political regimentation, freely permitted to fan out into every and all directions, thus bringing into focus the thousand and one shades and colors which make up the intellectual life of the Western world, can and is creating an atmosphere of the spirit in which cultural totalitarianism cannot exist. With its festivals Europe drama-

tizes its determination to keep the spirit free; by the use of art and music universal, it emphasizes the universality of human brotherhood. It is significant that the Communist world has nothing comparable to these festivals.

Some of the festivals are better known than others. That, of course, is due to their program, the names of the artists connected with them, their publicity possibilities, etc. However, every one of the European festivals, although their programs might in some instances seem similar, possesses a face all its own.

Just as there is a key to the understanding of each one of the European countries, there is a key to the understanding of these festivals. Each means something, expresses something, the significance of which transcends national boundaries, thus bringing the *ONENESS* of Europe forcefully to the attention of all Europe and indeed the world. It is through such efforts that the basis for European unity is being laid. Actions of men are conditioned by their spiritual and intellectual attitude.

The year 1954 was the greatest in terms of festivals the European continent had ever seen. Yet, each festival, big or small, represents or dramatizes something specific, *e.g.*:

SALZBURG, the spirit of the Christian world as it dramatizes the genius of European civilization. The spirit of Salzburg is the spirit of hope eternal.

BAYREUTH, the basic conflict in our world, and by so doing advances its solution. It is dedicated to the achievements of one man.

LUCERNE, the blending of nature's beauties with art and music, thus demonstrating the fact that art and music spring from and flow out of close association of man and nature.

PRADES, the strength which lies in intellectual integrity.

EL SINOR, the festival dedicated to the greatness of the human mind, provides the most perfect setting for the most perfect play, *Hamlet*.

EDINBURGH, Europe's consciousness of her historic past and the strength which lies in old traditions.

HOLLAND'S Festival demonstrates the fact that all types of art are related and can be welded harmonically into one great program.

ROME's Opera Festival dramatizes the splendor that is Western Civilization through the medium of magnificent grand opera performances which are an integral part of the civilization.

There are festivals in Scandinavia, Ostende, Liege, Brussels, Paris, Aix-en-Provence, Marseilles, Bregenz, Vienna, Granz, Klagenfurt, Munich, Hamburg, Nurnberg (Bach), Geneva, Zurich, Venice, Verona, (grand opera); the

many William Tell festivals, Johann Sebastian Bach festivals, Johann Strauss, Mozart, Schubert festivals, Church music festivals, such as at Aachen, and many, many others.

Certainly, these festivals are also designed to bring tourists to the various countries in ever increasing numbers. This fact enhances rather than diminishes their importance. The fact that people do travel thousands of miles to attend these festivals underscores their significance as a means toward the increase of international understanding. Yes, Europe is not a lost continent. It is certainly concerned with physical defense against any would-be aggressor but it is confident that its intellectual vigor, its spirituality, will in the last analysis bring it unity and peace and prosperity. The festivals are, therefore, like a message of hope and confidence emanating from Europe in these troubled times. It is here, at these festivals, that one best perceives the spirit of Europe.

The Teachers' Page

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RESEARCH IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

A recent statement by an authority in the behavioral sciences asserted that "free will" is a myth. Perhaps five per cent of our decisions can be attributed to free will whereas the other 95 per cent are inevitable consequences of the chain reactions of the past events. Philosophers in past ages, and social scientists today are still very much concerned with the age-long question of what enters into making of a decision in the various areas of human living. Some decisions are relatively insignificant in terms of the number of people they may affect, as are most personal decisions. Others, such as those of a Supreme Court justice or of a world statesman, may affect the lives of millions of people.

Decision making by an individual or by a group is only one of the many aspects of human behavior that interest today's social scientists. Having as one of its major objectives the increase in scientific knowledge of human be-

havior and the application of such knowledge to human affairs, the Ford Foundation, after nearly three years of planning and development, initiated The Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, on September 20, 1954. The purpose of this center was expressed in *The Ford Foundation Report*, 1954 (Released May 30, 1955), by the director, Ralph W. Tyler:

"The behavioral sciences have come to a stage of development calling for more — and more effective — communication between specialists. The Center is designed to provide a working atmosphere where this communication can take place. It is an opportunity for a selected number of university faculty members concerned with the study of human behavior to come together in one place in order to help one another gain new skills and insights and to work upon common problems in addition to their individual specialties."

Most of the Center's interdisciplinary and group research activities have been organized around the following subject fields: "the behavior of small groups; empirical investigations to assess psychoanalytic and other personality theories; the decision making process in administration; the relation of values to action; methodology and mathematical models for behavioral science, and theory of individual and collective choice."

Several other studies in the behavioral sciences, supported by the Ford Foundation, now in process, are the following:

(1) *The Cross-Cultural Study of Child Development*. The cooperating institutions are Harvard, Yale and Cornell. "Behavioral scientists at the three universities will analyze child rearing practices in five contemporary societies in order to test a number of hypotheses on personality development and group behavior.

"The central assumption of the study is that early childhood training and parental discipline are decisive for the development of the individual's adult personality and that they also reflect the fundamental characteristics of the society itself. The investigation will test this assumption by analysis of existing literature on several cultures and particularly through field observation of child rearing practices in villages in India, Mexico, Okinawa, the Philippines and New England."

Each of the participating teams from the three universities is devoting its efforts to particular aspects of the overall problem: Cornell—"those elements in child rearing which produce or inhibit aggression;" Yale—"how child training patterns tend to prolong or discourage dependence;" Harvard—"how children develop a strong or weak sense of moral values."

A study, related to this overall problem with respect to education, was reported in the May, 1955 issue of *Developments*, published by ETS (Educational Testing Service). Nearing completion, this ETS study has been attempting to ascertain "what school, parent, and community characteristics are related to the performance of secondary school students on aptitude and achievement tests." The results of the study to date (involving 9-12th grade students in more than 100 high schools) indicate that there is a significant correlation between

achievement and the following factors: "The percent of the school's students going to college (the higher the better); the size of the average instructional class (the smaller the better); and the presence (good) or absence (bad) of a library in the community."

(2) *Population Problem*. This study, by *The Population Council* will concern itself with population growth, particularly in underdeveloped countries. The specific goal of the research project is "to study the relation between the world's population and its material and cultural resources."

(3) *Organizational Behavior*. This research project, conducted by the Graduate School of Industrial Management of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, is part of its "program of interdisciplinary research in the field of business organization in the United States." The areas of study include: "A systematic inventory of existing hypotheses and propositions on organizational behavior;" "The effects of organizational structure on decision-making and policy-making in business firms;" "The relationships of organizational structure to internal communications, to the development of confidence in and loyalty to the organization, and to decision-making under conditions of uncertainty and insufficient information."

The findings from these studies may be of value not only to private business organizations, but also to governmental and educational institutions.

The ETS bulletin referred to above, reported also on a related study pertaining particularly to the "problems of selecting the best man to fill top managerial positions." The following questions raised in this connection, can be applied also to administration and supervision in the field of public and private education: "What are the earmarks of a good executive? How can management [or school boards] determine which of several men will be most effective in a particular post? What exactly does an executive *do* that makes him effective or ineffective?"

The proposed ETS study will attempt to (a) determine the nature of executive jobs; analyze the importance of personal qualities, experience, and required knowledge; (b) develop techniques for selecting men who either possess these characteristics or (c) who can

develop them under appropriate working and training conditions.

A provocative and challenging article on the value of so called *human engineering* tests appeared last Fall in *Fortune* magazine. The author contended that many of the personality tests and other kinds of tests used by industry in the selection and promotion of its executives were not too reliable. The ETS study will be concerned with isolating the factors that make for success in executive posts. Whether ETS will succeed in incorporating them in some form of a test will be worth close scrutiny. A significant research study that we can suggest along the same lines, in the field of education, is the evaluation of existing promotional devices (objective tests, essay examinations, oral interviews, recording of oral interviews, the use of an outside examining board) in the selection of administrative and supervisory personnel.

(4) *Consumer Behavior*. This involves a three years investigation, by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, "of factors influencing the formation of economic expectations on the part of the consumer and the relationship of these expectations to major expenditures, saving and investment. A sample of approximately 1000 heads of families will be interviewed four times, at intervals of six months." Factors to be considered in the decision making will include age, occupation, size of family, education, level of savings and debts, and changes in income.

(5) *Human Aspects of Disaster*. This study (five years) aims to (1) analyze the behavior of people under crisis conditions — floods, hurricanes, catastrophic explosions, and fires; (2) relate "these peace time tragedies to the problems of civil defense in time of war." The study is under the direction of the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Academy of Sciences. Leadership formation, communication, rumor and the behavior of spontaneously organized small groups are some of the related points of interests to be studied.

The 93rd Annual Meeting of the NEA was held in Chicago during the early days of July. Among the many issues discussed the following are of particular interest:

Discipline in the Classroom. Discipline in the

classroom is going to receive special attention in a proposed study recommended by the Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education (NEA). That there should be national interest in the subject is no surprise, what with such books as *The Blackboard Jungle* having made the best seller list and also being shown all over the country on the screen. But there is more than the dramatic publicity given to the whole subject of juvenile delinquency, in general, that makes both necessary and desirable a study of the subject as it exists in the classroom.

Maintaining good discipline is one of the most serious problems faced by teachers, as reported at the NEA convention by the Commission, after a year long study of 3400 typical classroom teachers. The teachers listed the following specific problems:

- (1) Increased pupil restlessness
- (2) General deterioration of discipline
- (3) Increased difficulty of room discipline

Although no one ventured to offer final reasons for these conditions, and opinion among teachers is divided, a few of them mentioned the following as some of the causes.

- (1) The influence of such agencies as television and comic books.
- (2) Lack of community services, such as absence of swimming pools, play grounds, and other recreational facilities
- (3) "Progressive Education" methods used in the elementary schools
- (4) Breakdown of parental discipline
- (5) Lack of respect for the classroom teachers
- (6) Overcrowded classes. Many teachers feel frustrated with large classes because they cannot do the kind of teaching job they would like.

In answer to this overall problem, the Commission which made this study wants to sponsor a series of 4-6 regional conferences "to be held in conjunction with parent and school groups ... [and] devoted to discussion of the causes of increased disciplinary problems. They would go into the specific nature of the problems, and the most promising means of combating this breakdown.

"Each conference would be addressed by an educator, a psychiatrist and a social worker ex-

perienced in dealing with young people.

"A questionnaire would be sent to 10,000 teachers, aimed at finding the precise nature of the disciplinary problems of concern to teachers, the current methods of dealing with the problems and ways by which teachers could be helped to reduce the present problems of classroom discipline."¹

Politics and Education. Dr. Earl J. McGrath, former United Commissioner of Education and now president of the University of Kansas City spoke in favor of having teachers organize for political action. Recognizing that he placed himself "in about the same position as a person who speaks favorably of embezzlement in banking circles." Dr. McGrath explained that political action to him meant the application of "non-partisan pressure upon members of the executive and legislative branches of the government to support measures calculated to improve the status and condition of education" Dr. McGrath felt that unless teachers act as an effective pressure group they will be, as they are, very much "handicapped in competition with other social groups which have effectively organized for the advancement of their own interests."²

Salaries. The salary issue received a thorough going over. The delegates recommend a goal of a maximum salary of \$9,500 or more for teachers having five years of preparation and fifteen years of teaching experience.

Federal Aid to Education. One of the highlights of the convention was Adlai E. Stevenson's speech on the above subject. The 1952 Democratic candidate for President proposed the following educational program:

"(1) Immediate approval of the proposal to provide \$400 million annually to be matched by state funds for school construction.

"(2) Appropriation of \$50 million annually for grants to the states for teacher education, to be matched by state funds.

"(3) A long-range program of unrestricted cash grants to the states on a per pupil basis, allowing the states to distribute the money according to requirements of local school districts.

"(4) A program of national scholarships to promising candidates who would undertake, upon graduation, to devote some years to teach-

ing. Other scholarships might be provided for graduate students and for experienced teachers.

Mr. Stevenson suggested a formula that would provide \$800 million annually in federal funds for public schools. He noted that the country gains \$15 billion in new wealth each year, which yields \$4 billion additional in taxes. The Government, he urged, should spend 20 percent of this annual increment for support of its public schools."³

The *NEA Journal*, May 1955, reported that The Council for Advancement of Secondary Education (sponsored jointly by the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Better Business Bureau, Inc.) will spend one year on a study to determine "the minimum essentials of economic information which every citizen should know and understand if we are to have an economically competent and intelligent society." Several research studies, already begun are specifically concerned with:

1. The kinds of economic understandings necessary for an individual's intelligent evaluation of newspapers, magazines, farm and labor journals.
2. A survey of textbooks in economic education designed to show their contributions towards an effective or ineffective understanding of newspapers and magazines.
3. A survey, by letter, of what representatives of agriculture, labor, business, and education, believe to be "the ten most important economic items to be included in the education of every young person." A revised list, based on the submission of the above responses to a group of judges selected from various economic groups, will be sent to still other judges. Educators will then attempt to determine the educational levels best suited for each of the items of the minimum essentials list. The final task, that of determining how best to incorporate each unit into the curriculum, will be done by teachers.

¹ Report by Benjamine Fine, *New York Times*, Sunday, July 3, 1955.

² Reported by Harrison W. Fry, *The Evening Bulletin*, Phila., July 6-7, 1955.

³ Benjamine Fine, *New York Times*, Sunday, July 10, 1955.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

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United Nations Plays and Programs is a new book authored by Fisher and Rabe, about the U.N. It is priced at \$3.50 and is published by Plays Inc., 8 Arlington St., Boston 16, Mass. Designed as a "collection of royalty-free program material for young people of all ages," its 296 pages contains 15 plays, four playlets, twelve group readings, fourteen recitations, seven songs, and a group of prayers and toasts—all interpreting and dramatizing the aims and accomplishments of the United Nations.

FILMS

The Task Ahead. 20 min. 1953. Rental. United Nations, Film Dept., United Nation, N.Y.

Shows the objectives and activities of Unesco in supplying the needs of all peoples for food, and for peace.

Afghanistan Moves Ahead. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows the way of life of the people of Afghanistan and the work of the U.N. Technical Assistance Program.

A Village Awakens. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

The story of how a road was built in the formerly isolated village of Despina, Greece.

World Without End. 45 min. Rental. Brandon Films, Inc. 200 W. 57 St., New York 19, N.Y.

Medicine, agriculture, and education in the service of human need is illustrated by the work of Unesco in Mexico and Thailand.

Battle For Bread. 16 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows how the Food and Agriculture Organization is beginning to solve the tremendous problem of doubling the world output.

Birthday for Eritrea. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows how the UN has guided Eritrea in becoming a self-governing country.

Clearing the Way. 20 min. Rental. United Nations.

Tells the story of UN headquarters in New York, including selection of the site, planning and construction.

Passport to Nowhere. 19 min. Sale, rental. Text-film Dept., McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42 St., New York 18, N.Y.

Depicts the problems of displaced persons arising out of the war.

Fisherman of Quintay. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows technical assistance at work in Chile.

Philippines: Economic Progress. 13 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows the assistance given to the government of the Philippines by the UN Technical Assistance Program.

Philippines: Social Progress. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows the assistance of the UN Technical Assistance Program in developing nation-wide health services.

Grand Design. 9 min. Rental. United Nations.

Reviews the problems faced by the UN to combat the enemies of mankind, whether in nature or human nature.

A New Future for Somaliland. 10 min. Rental. United Nations.

Shows the work of the UN Commission on Somaliland.

Tower of Destiny. 15 min. Rental. United Nations.

Describes the building of UN headquarters, and shows exterior and interior of completed buildings.

FILMSTRIPS

Let There Be Life. 44 fr. Silent with captions. McGraw-Hill. Sale.

Shows the work of the World Health Organization and the Children's Emergency Fund in checking the spread of disease.

Night Into Day. 42 fr. Silent with captions. Sale. McGraw-Hill.

Depicts the work of Unesco in helping to eradicate ignorance and to help man understand himself in the world in which he lives.

Let There Be Bread. 41 fr. Silent with captions. Sale. McGraw-Hill.

Shows the work of the UN Technical Assistance Programs in overcoming hunger by reclaiming land, improving seeds and soil, improving health of livestock.

Sacred Trust. 62 fr. Silent with captions. Sale. McGraw-Hill.

Shows the aims and functions of the UN Trusteeship Council in governing trust territories.

Sharing Skills. 47 fr. Silent with captions. Sale. McGraw-Hill.

Describes the projects of the UN Technical Assistance Program in sharing technical skills. *Structure for Peace: How The United Nations*

Work. 78 fr. Sale. Silent with captions. McGraw-Hill.

Explains the structure and functions of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Court of International Justice and the Secretariat.

Bridging The Gap. Part I, 44 fr. Sale. McGraw-Hill.

Explains the purpose of the UN Technical Assistance Program and how it operates in various countries.

This Is United Nations Day. 61 fr. Sale. Silent with captions. McGraw-Hill.

Shows what the UN means in Korea, Israel, and a number of a underdeveloped countries of the world.

RECORDINGS

Bridging The Gap. 33 1/3 rpm. 25 min. Sale. Part II. McGraw-Hill.

Explains the purpose of the UN Technical Assistance Program and how it works.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Civics for Americans. By Nadine I. Clark, James B. Edmonson, and Arthur Dondineau. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. Pp. vii, 536.

This is a basic text in American government designed for use on the secondary school level. Although primarily a study of the mechanics of government, it gives due attention to other forms of social activity—the community, the school, the home, and the church—which have as great implications for citizenship as do strictly political affairs. Uniquely characteristic of the book is the emphasis placed on the *responsibilities* of citizenship, often overlooked in our preoccupation with one's rights in a democratic society. Its tenor is, as it should be, such as to inspire confidence in and a constructive attitude toward government, rather than distrust, which is currently all too prevalent.

The reviewer would single out certain sec-

tions of the book for special commendation. The chapter on "The Importance of Clear Thinking" emphasizes the necessity for reaching "reasonable conclusions" from a studied examination of the facts, as distinguished from mere rumor or opinion. The chapter on "Recreation and Citizenship" impresses on the student the importance of constructive utilization of leisure time. The attention given to state and local government is also welcome, since students often get the impression that state and local politics, particularly the latter, are of relatively little consequence. Throughout the book parallels are drawn between the activities of government and the school and community experiences of students. The student is repeatedly shown how he as an adult citizen can draw on his earlier experiences in school and community

There is a generous use of illustrative materials, as well as a variety of problem solving techniques, study guides, and testing devices.

The book uses a dynamic approach to an ever increasing complex of governmental problems. It stresses practical problems and concrete situations, and minimizes abstractions which are beyond the grasp of the high school student. The book commends itself to student and teacher alike, and it should be a welcome addition to the textual material in the field of citizenship training.

HORACE V. HARRISON

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State and Local Government in the United States. By Austin F. MacDonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. Pp. xvi, 667. \$6.00.

For more than twenty years, Austin F. MacDonald's *American State Government and Administration* has been a standard text in college courses in state government. It has also been used in courses which deal with local as well as with state government, although the material on the former subject is quite limited. The present volume is hardly more than an abridgement of Professor MacDonald's widely-used text with the addition of a few chapters on problems of local government. It is in no sense a new book. With the exception of the chapters on "History of American State Government" and "State Administration Organization," most of the material in *American State Government and Administration* is reprinted, in slightly abridged form, in *State and Local Government in the United States*; and only four completely new chapters appear in the latter volume, dealing with "Federal—Local Relations," "Government of Metropolitan Areas," "Housing," and "Recreation." The emphasis is still heavily on state government. The new volume, therefore, will not be suitable for those who wish to give at least as much attention to local as to state government; but it should be welcomed by those who wish to round out their treatment of state government by giving more than passing attention to the multifarious patterns and activities of local governmental units in the United States.

NORMAN D. PALMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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ARTICLES

"Mid term Report," by President Eisenhower's Cabinet, *Nation's Business*, Volume 43, Number 1, January 1955.

"Changing the Guard in Congress," *Business Week*, November 13, 1954.

"Asia's Challenge to Education," by James Marshall, *The New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 1954.

"Junior High School Is Here to Stay," by Martin W. Essex, *The Nation's Schools*, liv, August 1954.

"How to Criticize Your Schools," by William G. Carr, *The N.E.A. News*, viii, September 17, 1954.

"Education of the Able Student: Social Significance and Goals," by Newton Edwards, *The School Review*, lxii, September 1954.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Not Minds Alone. By Kenneth Irving Brown. New York: Harper, 1954. Pp. xv, 206. \$3.00.

How to Judge a School. By William F. Russell. New York: Harper, 1954. Pp. ix, 143. \$2.50.

The Teacher Speaks. By Seth A. Fessenden, Roy Ivan Johnson and P. Merville Larson. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954. Pp. viii, 359. \$4.65.

Our World Through the Ages. By Nathaniel Platt and Muriel Jean Drummond. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954. Pp. 694. \$4.48.

Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D. C.: 1954. Pp. vi, 478. Paper-bound, \$3.50; cloth-bound, \$4.00.

Introducing Africa. By Carveth Wells. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954. Pp. xii, 244. \$5.00 Revised Edition.

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